National Anti-Slavery Standard.

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National Anti-Slavery Standard.

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Selections.

LECTURE BY WENDELL PHILLIPS, ESQ.

MR. PHILLIPS delivered an address at the Music Hall on Wednesday evening last, under the auspices of the Mercantile Library Association, on "The War." The spacious Hall was crowded, and on the platform were seated very many distinguished gentlemen, among them several clergymen, of different denominations. Mr. Phillips, as he entered the Hall, received a hearty welcome; and when he took his place upon the platform to commence his address, he was hailed with repeated outbursts of enthusiastic cheering.

He began by stating, that, after the addresses by Mr. Sumner and Mr. Everett, on the cause and character of the war, their conclusion might safely be adopted, that slavery was the cause of the war. Some men attributed it to disappointed ambition, but he did not think the cause equal to the result. Doubtless, political disappointment was made the occasion of the Revolution, though far from being its cause; but the cause of the war was *slavery*.

It might be supposed that he came there as an Abolitionist to talk of the war. Not at all. As a mere Abolitionist, his interest in the war had gone by, for the system of slavery on this continent had received its death wound (loud cheering). The rest of its life would be the process of dying. If the North conquered, or there was a compromise, either the old Constitution would be restored or a new one adopted. He believed the Constitution of '89 dead; that the people of the North, after their enormous sacrifices of blood and treasure in the prosecution of the war, would never consent to put back slavery where it was on the 4th of March, 1860; and if we had a new Constitution, its novelty would consist in the omission of the slave clauses, and that would be the death of slavery in the end. If the South baulked us of victory (she could never conquer), it would be by writing Emancipation on her banner, and so winning the support of the friends of liberty on the other side of the water. In either case, the slave went free (applause).

This was the most glorious year of the Republic since '76 (loud cheers). Until now, the North had been cringing in craven subserviency to the South; to-day she flung off the chain. It was a sad day when an impertinent Virginian, standing on Bunker Hill, insulted Massachusetts, and then dragged her citizens to Washington to tell him what they knew of John Brown; but it was a sunny day when Massachusetts held that same impertinent Senator, an acknowledged felon, in her prison fort (prolonged and vehement applause). He loved peace—not that peace which has craven submission for its mother, and contempt for its father—but a peace born of Justice, and which recognizes the rights of every race and every man (loud applause).

Some men claimed that they would look at this question only as white men. He descended to no such narrowness. He would look at it, not as a white man or a negro looks at it, but as an American citizen (cheers), who knows neither black nor white, neither Saxon nor Indian, but stretches an equal sceptre over all (renewed cheering).

Mr. Phillips then referred to the character of the war, describing it as a terrific one; to the enormous debt which it would cause, to the suspension of the *habeas corpus*, and to the dangers that would arise from the existence of such vast armies. He did this, he said, not to find fault with the government, but to show what the war cost us, and that we ought not to sacrifice so much for nought. He did not believe with some men, that the people of the South had been misled by their leaders, and that the presence of a Federal army in their midst would enable them to find out that they have souls of their own, and everything go back to the happy condition and good old time of Franklin Pierce and James Buchanan (great merriment). He believed we had divided, because we were two nations, and that, in order to come together, we must make ourselves *one nation* (loud applause). His doctrine was—abolish slavery to save the Union! (Loud and prolonged cheering.)

Some might think this strange language from his lips. Not at all. He did hate the Union when it made white men hypocrites and black men slaves; when it poisoned the conscience of statesmen, filled the pulpits with lies, and the streets with mobs. Much as he realized the value of the Union, he preferred disunion to being an accomplice with tyrants. But to-day, when he saw that the Union must mean justice in order to last, when he saw that, with a current as swift and irresistible as Niagara, twenty millions of people are resolving that it shall mean "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity," why should he be a disunionist? He was a disunionist to take nineteen States out of thirty-four, and consecrate them to justice; and twenty million people answer back—"We adopt your motto, but we include the thirty-four instead of the nineteen" (loud cheers). Why should he refuse? Was it supposed that he was not born with the common sense of a Yankee, to know the value of the Union, if it could be had *at a fair price?* (Laughter and cheers.)

Any other policy was unsafe. It was said that the Administration meant to reconstruct the Union on the old basis, but he did not believe it. But however that might be, they could not resist the logic of events. As well might a blade of Swiss grass stop the sweep of the avalanche. War and Niagara thunder to a music of their own, and no politician sets the tune (cheers). If he thought reconstruction possible, he should deem it the greatest possible mistake; and if he thought our leaders intended it, he should think this war the most wanton and reckless waste of life and treasure that the world ever saw. The leaders who led us to such a goal, would be damned to an infamy compared with which Arnold was a saint and Buchanan a public benefactor (great cheering).

Mr. Phillips said he believed reconstruction impossible, because the negro was to go free, either by the act of the North or the desperation of the South; for the South, the moment she saw victory turning decisively to the side of the North, would write Freedom on her banner and summon Europe to her aid. The events at Beaufort had shown that the blacks were on our side, not on the side of the South. He would have Congress, by solemn act, proclaim emancipation throughout the Union, and offer compensation to every loyal subject for any loss he might sustain (long continued applause). This policy he regarded not only as just, but expedient, since a market would thus be secured to the manufacturers of the North which would otherwise be thrown open to Lancashire. Not that he despaired of the ultimate result, but it was possible we might lose this generation. As Napoleon said, "Every moment lost was an opportunity for misfortune." When December opened, he would have the people demand of the government that it say to the world—"We know well the evil which has troubled our peace for three generations, sending ruin along our wharves every ten years, and thwarting the natural tendency of our institutions. Democracy knew its strength—knew it could trust great evils to die out, or reveal themselves in such hideous proportions that the people should decree their death. It was in such sublime consciousness of strength that our fathers tolerated the acknowledged evil of slavery, until the reptile that we thought we could tread upon starts up at the touch of disappointment, a fiend. Democracy welcomes the battle. Confident of the strength to execute her judgment, she deliberately records the verdict—DEATH!" (Prolonged applause.)

At Mr. Phillips's request we refrain from giving a full report of this excellent and most timely address. A brief sketch like the above can do justice neither to his argument nor to the pertinency and beauty of the illustrations by which it was enforced. We are glad to know that the address is to be repeat in several cities and towns of this State, and elsewhere.—*Liberator.*

SENATOR SUMNER IN NEW YORK.

From The Herald of Nov. 28.

THE HON. CHARLES SUMNER, United States Senator from Massachusetts, delivered an address last evening, in the large hall of the Cooper Institute, on "The Rebellion, its Origin and Mainspring." The invitation was extended to him by the New York Young Men's Republican Union, which was organized in June, 1856, as the "Fremont and Dayton Central Union." Rarely has there been such a large audience assembled in the Cooper Institute—never one of such general reputation and intelligence. Several hundred ladies were present. As Mr. Sumner made his appearance on the platform, he was hailed with enthusiastic applause.

The meeting, on motion of Mr. CHARLES ROGERS, was organized by the election of Mr. WM. CURTIS NOYES as Chairman, and the following named gentlemen Vice-Presidents and Secretaries:

VICE-PRESIDENTS.

Hon. George Opdyke,
Oliver Johnson,
Hiram Barney,
George B. Cheever, D.D.,
George W. Blunt,
Rev. O. B. Frothingham,
David Dudley Field,
Dexter Fairbank, M.D.,
Rufus F. Andrews,
Hon. H. J. Raymond,
Wm. Goodell,
Isaac Sherman,
W. M. Evarts,
Elliot C. Cowdin,
Henry C. Bowen,
Edgar Ketchum,
Hon. Hamilton Fish,
Hon. Henry B. Stanton,
Hon. F. A. Conkling,
William E. Warren,
Isaac T. Smith,
William A. Hall,
Prof. Francis Lieber,
Washington Smith.

SECRETARIES.

Hon. E. Delafield Smith,
Theodore Tilton,
George Denison,
Edward Gilbert,
Sigismund Lasar,
Wm. Allen Butler,
James B. Richards, M.D.,
James S. Gibbons.

The reading of the names of Messrs. Opdyke and Cheever was received with applause.

SPEECH OF WM. CURTIS NOYES.

Mr. NOYES, in taking the chair, said:

Thanking you, as I do gratefully, for the kindness which has called me to preside over this meeting, let me remind you that within the modest chapel which impresses with devotional emotion every visitor to Mount Auburn—that most beautiful of American cemeteries—stands a marble statue of one of the patriotic leaders of the American Revolution. Its simple dignity arrests attention and commands admiration and respect. Stern resolve and unflinching courage are depicted in lineament and attitude. We see him voluntarily renouncing a high professional office under the crown to take his place in the forum, as a private citizen, to oppose, without reward, the odious violations of the liberties of the people by means of writs of assistance. His exordium startles the prejudiced judges:

> Let the consequences be what they will, I am determined to proceed. The only principles of public conduct that are worthy of a gentleman or a man, are to sacrifice estate, ease, health and applause, and even life, to the sacred calls of country. These principles, in private life, make the good citizen; in public life, the patriot and the hero.

Then, rising with the progress of his great theme, he continues:

> Every man in a state of nature is an independent sovereign, subject to no law but the law written upon his heart and revealed to him by his Maker. His right to his life, his liberty and his property, no created being can rightfully contest; these rights are inherent and inalienable.

We watch the effect of his indignant words—they convince and awe, and yet the royal tribunal dare not decide. It prevaricates and postpones, but the victory is won; the odious measure is abandoned forever, and the orator's utterances have lighted up a flame which independence alone can ever quench. We go with him from this first theatre of triumph through many long years of toil and anxiety, in shaping the measures which led to the great conflict with the mother country, to the general Court, guided by his skill and political sagacity; to the popular assembly, alike aroused to turbulence and hushed to repose by his burning eloquence. We see him hurling defiance at the minions of power who, with secret malevolence, assailed his reputation. We witness their malignant hatred and their deadly assault upon his person, when alone and unarmed. We see him fall covered with wounds, and carried bleeding to his home. Thenceforward, to the actual opening of the Revolutionary drama, and during its progress, this act of regal barbarism obscured, but did not wholly extinguish the light of the great intellect which it sought to destroy, but all that remained was a wreck, reminding only of the glories of the past. The crime against the person added to its atrocity a greater crime against the soul, dooming it to pursue its earthly career in sadness and gloom. Conscious of being only a monument of decay, well might the gradually expiring patriot wish that when God in his righteous providence should call him from time into eternity, it might be by a flash of lightning. We may rejoice that his prayer was answered, and that, too noble to be permitted to die a common death, in a manner equally affecting and sublime, James Otis (applause) was removed to the mansions of eternal felicity. It is the necessary result of barbarism in all its phases to furnish historic parallels by reproducing itself in viler forms. Not a century elapsed, and a similar atrocity is enacted in the Senate Chamber of the United States. The ruffians were actuated by as deadly a hate, their malice was as foul and murderous, their defiance of law was as manifest, their victim was also the friend and advocate of universal freedom, and as much distinguished and feared, and he also fell beneath the blows of assassins in heart and conduct. But here the parallel ends. This outrage did not impair the intellect which it sought to destroy; that survived the trial, enlarged, strengthened, purified; to set forward in a new and more glorious career in the cause of freedom and humanity. Instead of the lightning's flash to remove it to heaven, a Divine influence, equal in potency, has emanated thence, inspiring it with a larger love of freedom; more zeal in the cause of the oppressed, and a more earnest conviction that human slavery produces only evil, and that it should be forever eradicated (enthusiastic applause). Happy then for us and for our country has been the suffering of these martyrs in the cause of freedom. The name of James Otis has descended to posterity on the brightest pages of our history, associated with those of Hancock, and Adams, and Jay, and Jefferson, and Henry, and Rutledge, and there it will remain forever. The name of the other martyr in the cause of truth and justice will find equal distinction in future ages on the roll of philanthropists, with those of Howard, and Clarkson and Wilberforce, and others of that glorious company, "of whom the world was not worthy." But history has also its retributions. The infamous actors in these tragedies passed away under the scorn and contempt of mankind; their names only searched for and remembered among the persecutors and slayers of their race. They who countenanced and approved the last by a fitting gradation became the betrayers and assassins of their country, and two of these—the highest in station and basest in conduct—are now awaiting the punishment due to their crimes in a prison within the shadow of Bunker Hill Monument (applause)—which indignantly frowns upon them from base to summit. In the reality of the present behold the promise of the future, when all traitors like them shall meet a similar doom. Still devoting himself to the cause of his country and to the freedom of the oppressed, the advocate and friend of all, of whatever rank, or condition or color; the scholar, the philanthropist, the martyr, the statesman, has come again among us, and it is with equal pride and pleasure that I present to you the Hon. Charles Sumner, not of Massachusetts, but of the United States of America, one and indivisible.

SENTIMENT OF THE MEETING.

From The Tribune.

At the conclusion of Mr. Sumner's oration last evening, the following resolutions were offered, and adopted by acclamation:

> Resolved, That the doctrine enunciated by Major-Geo. Fremont, with respect to the emancipation of the slaves of rebels, and the more recent utterances of Gen. Burnside, Senator Wilson and the Hon. George Bancroft, in this city, and of Col. John Cochrane and the Hon. Simon Cameron at Washington, foreshadowing the eventual rooting out of slavery, as the cause of the rebellion, indicate alike a moral, political and military necessity; and in the judgment of this meeting the public sentiment of the North is now fully in sympathy with any practicable scheme which may be presented for the extirpation of this national evil, and will accept such result as the only consistent issue of this contest between civilization and barbarism.
>
> Resolved, That the thanks of this meeting be and are hereby tendered to the Hon. Charles Sumner, the distinguished orator of this evening, for his reassertion and eloquent enforcement of the political principle herein endorsed.

After the dismissal of the vast assemblage at the Cooper Institute, a number of the friends of Mr. Sumner entertained him at a collation in Curet's, No. 742 Broadway, where brilliant speeches were made by Wm. Curtis Noyes, Esq.; the Hon. Charles Sumner; Wm. M. Evarts, Esq.; the Rev. Mr. Conway of the Hawkins's Zouaves; the Rev. Prof. Hitchcock; Cephas Brainard, Esq.; Richard C. McCormick, Esq., and Elliot C. Cowdin, Esq. The sentiment that emancipation was to be the means of crushing the rebellion—the means of prosecuting the war, and not the end of the war, ruled the hour.

THE FRATERNITY LECTURES.

THE sixth lecture of this course was given by Rev. William R. Alger, Nov. 19th, on "Judas Iscariot and his Family." The lecturer gave a minute description of the mental and moral characteristics which go to make up a traitor, and made pointed application to some notorious modern members of that family. The concluding remark, worth more than some whole lectures, was that we may reasonably expect Congress, very early in its approaching session, to make provision for the emancipation of the slaves; a prediction which was received with enthusiastic applause.

The Fraternity lectures always fill the seats of the spacious Tremont Temple. The attractiveness of the most popular orators is shown by their filling, in addition, all the standing places, and producing an active competition for the foremost seats. On the evening of the 26th, when Henry Ward Beecher was to lecture, a great crowd besieged the Temple long before the opening of the outer doors, and the house was ultimately filled to its utmost capacity.

Mr. Beecher is noted for his ability and disposition to preach funny sermons. His discourse on this occasion was of this character, and, treating the gravest of subjects with unscrupulous levity, it greatly amused those of the audience who were not shocked by its perversions of truth, justice, reason and Scripture. It was entitled "Camp and Country," and contained an elaborate eulogy on war, as a promoter of civilization and improvement. The hearers of these lectures being among the most vigorous supporters of the present war, it was easy to amuse them by first giving a caricature of Non-resistance, and then proceeding in detail to argue that the absurdity which he had manufactured *was* an absurdity. It was easy, too (for one sufficiently unscrupulous), to make fun of those Pennsylvania Quakers who—with hearts sorely divided between their dislike of war and their dislike of slavery, and forced by the sad circumstances of the country into the dilemma of finding their customary protest against the former turned to the upholding of the latter—have now shouldered the musket and entered the army. The comments of the speaker upon those earnest and honest men resembled the jeers of drunkards against a teetotaler who, having been ordered to take brandy by his physician, had found himself intoxicated by it.

Mr. Beecher admitted a certain amount of demoralizing influence in camp life, but thought that this influence did not differ very greatly in amount from that experienced at home, and in ordinary life, and that the balance of good might be more than recovered by a due admixture of chaplains, tracts and prayer-meetings with the several divisions of the army. As evidence upon this point, he quoted the opinion of one of his 240 soldier-parishioners, who, in a letter to himself, had stated that the means of grace were rather more abundant, and rather more satisfactory, in the camp than at home.

Of Mr. Beecher's accuracy in stating facts, and of his fairness in quoting Scripture, the following specimen must suffice, for the present: he represented the Non-Resistant as refusing to use, and objecting to the use of physical force, and he quoted the saying of Jesus—"I came not to bring peace, but a sword"—as valid warrant for wars between nations.—C. K. W.—*Liberator.*

A WORD BY WAY OF FORECAST.

From The Evening Post.

SOME parts of what are called the cotton States have a climate which is truly pestilential, and most parts of them a climate unfriendly to Northern constitutions. How difficult it will be on this account to hold South Carolina, if we obtain possession of it, unless we resort to some method yet untried in this conflict, was forcibly stated the other day by a correspondent of The Evening Post. Immense tracts, parcelled into productive plantations, are so unhealthy, from almost the beginning of May to the beginning of November, that it is fatal to a white man to sleep there. These are literally abodes of the pestilence that walketh in darkness; they may be visited with impunity in the daytime, but the night brings disease and death. Their owners resort to them from their summer retreats in the cities or in the upland country, making hasty journeys, and leaving the fatal region before nightfall. If we attempt to hold, during the summer, by means of troops sent from the North, the ground we have gained in the winter campaign, we shall do it at an expense of life such as was never experienced in any battle; our armies must face a deadlier enemy than ever wielded weapons forged by man; they will be swept off by squadrons; the living will scarce suffice to bury the dead.

It is certain that the rebels count upon this as a great advantage. "Our climate," they sometimes boast, "will fight for us." They will look to see us forced to abandon, in the warm season, the territory from which we have thrust them in the winter. The system upon which the insurgents, after stealing what they could lay their hands on, have proceeded and mean to proceed hereafter, is what physicians call the expectant system. Throughout this war, which has already lasted seven months, they have been perpetually on the watch to find us committing some folly which would expose us to defeat, or entangling ourselves in some net of unfavorable circumstances from which we could not be extricated without serious disaster. If patience be a warlike virtue, it is one which they have practiced more than any other. To understand our plans, to observe our movements with the greatest vigilance; to be prepared for our attacks; to make none of their own except they can strike where we are defenceless; to lure us into as many mistakes as possible, and leave these to produce all their natural effect of ill fortune, are measures which comprise the whole of their warlike policy. If they find that they must yield up to us large portions of the Southern coast, they will narrowly watch the arrangements we are making to keep possession of them during the sickly season. If they find that we expect to hold them by the troops we send down from the North, they will be satisfied; all they have to do will be to stand aloof and see our army mowed down by disease, in the expectation that when the very first days of the cooler season arrive they will be so diminished, weakened and dispirited, that they must fall an easy prey to the natives. If any better method of holding the conquered region is proposed, their tools and creatures at the North are charged to use their utmost exertions to render it unpopular, to denounce it in the public prints as impolitic and unconstitutional, as likely to offend the loyal population of the South, and, in short, to arm against it every prejudice which they find already existing, or which they can successfully awaken.

This has been done already. It has been suggested that in holding our conquests in South Carolina we should follow the policy of the owners of the South Carolina plantations in the unhealthy districts, who leave them in the summer season with their negroes. It has been said that we ought to make the black race in that quarter our friends, attach them to our cause by benefits, and trust to their fidelity to maintain the possession of the country against the rebels. There is no other way to do the thing effectually; any other will lead to a disgraceful expulsion; any other will encourage the rebels to prolong the contest until climate shall more than do the work of the sword, and enable them to recover the ground they have lost. Yet this suggestion has been met in certain quarters with the most virulent abuse of those who have made it. It has been attacked as a daring proposal to violate the Constitution; as an atrocious scheme for delivering up the white families to the brutalities of their infuriated slaves; as a project worthy only of revolutionists and robbers. The hand of the enemy is clearly seen in these denunciations. The same class who strove to hold back our government from making any preparations to resist the rebels, and sought to give them time for making their arrangements to seize upon Washington by keeping the North intent upon schemes of compromise, now loudly declaim against employing the negro population of the South in the service of the government.

Let us discriminate, however. One of the journals admits that we need the services of the black population in the conquered country but proposes that they shall be taken from their rebel masters, sold to loyal citizens, under a positive warranty of the title, and still employed in tilling the ground. It is remarkable that they who bring forward this plan see no constitutional objection to the reënslavement of the blacks, to selling human beings at government auctions, and assuring the property of them to the buyers. These journalists, who are so tender of the Constitution, scruple not to counsel the usurpation of powers for which the Constitution affords not the shadow of a warrant. Yet there is another objection. The blacks, if they are to remain in slavery, will prefer their old masters. There is nothing which a slave dreads so much as being sold. If we forcibly pass them to other owners we cannot rely upon their fidelity; we shall make them our secret enemies, both by disappointing their hope of freedom and by forcing them to pass under the yoke of strangers—men with whom they have no familiar domestic associations. The only way to employ them usefully and safely is to employ them as freemen. We have been waiting to see them so employed in the Beaufort district. The fields of Sea Island cotton are ready for picking, and we cannot see why the blacks should not be immediately put at work to get it ready for the market, at some moderate rate of wages, to be paid in what for a long time has not been seen in that region, silver coin. It seems to us that no time should be lost in thus beginning a policy to which circumstances are assuredly hearing us, and which it is our wisdom and our safety to begin early.

EMANCIPATION AND ITS FRUITS IN HAYTI.

HAYTI, or rather the French part of that island, better known as St. Domingo, was the first to emerge from slavery, as she was the first to incur it. In 1793, just three centuries after the island was discovered by Columbus, and more than two centuries and a half after negro slavery was established there, it was suddenly and totally abolished by the edict of the French Assembly, enforced by the republican commissioners, Sonthonax and Polverel. What were the causes and what the consequences of this extraordinary act? for it must not be forgotten that this happened in the infancy of the anti-slavery agitation, while as yet the slave trade was a reputable business in England and America.

At the breaking out of the French Revolution in 1789, there were in St. Domingo upwards of half a million of slaves, the property of 70,000 whites and mulattoes, whose numbers were about equal. Of these slaves, at least one-third, and perhaps one-half, were imported from Africa, far inferior in civilization to the lowest of our negroes. This must be borne in mind in judging of what they did. For two years the whites and mulattoes quarreled, the slaves taking no part. Before August, 1791, the whole island was involved in frightful civil war between the republicans and the monarchists on the one hand—between the whites and the free mulattoes on the other. Spain held the eastern half of the island, as she does to-day, and supported the cause of the Bourbons, close by on the south-west by Jamaica, whose English colonists also supported the Bourbons. Emissaries of Spain, England, and the Count d'Artois, secretly at work among the slaves of the north of St. Domingo, excited the bloody insurrection of August, 1791. No doubt the invincible love of freedom had much to do with it; but it is beyond question that Spain supported the revolted slaves in their outbreak, and took their leaders into pay. Toussaint l'Ouverture himself was for awhile in the service of Spain. In this revolt two thousand whites and more than ten thousand blacks perished; yet it did not become general, and in spite of it, and of the bloody wars between the various political factions, *most of the slaves continued to labor for their old masters.* This is a fact little known, simply because the whole history of St. Domingo is little studied.

In 1793 the English from Jamaica had invaded the island; the revolted slaves, aided by Spanish troops under a Spanish marquis, were pressing the French forces hard, and the cause of the republic seemed hopeless; when suddenly all was changed by the bold action of the Jacobin commissioners. They published a decree *that all slaves who enrolled themselves under the French flag should be free*, and this made it impossible for Spain or England to conquer the island. One of the first to join the armies of France was the great negro General Toussaint, who had been in the revolt of 1791. He brought with him an army of blacks, and rising from one position to another by virtue of his successes, he became, in 1796, actual governor of the island. His army was made up mainly of freed slaves, well drilled; with these he expelled the English and the Spanish, and restored peace in 1798. His next step was to organize the emancipated slaves into bands of efficient laborers. The task was a hard one; far worse than a similar work would be in our Southern States. Ten years of a civil war of unusual ferocity had ill fitted these laborers for a life of peaceful industry, and besides they were semi-barbarous freed slaves. Yet Toussaint, by a well-devised code of labor, brought them back to the service of their old masters, and in a few years had well nigh restored the former prosperity of the colony. To this fact, astonishing as it appears, we have the most abundant and various testimony—black and white, French and English, friendly and hostile.

In the midst of these beneficent labors Toussaint was treacherously overthrown by Napoleon, and died in a French prison in 1802. The blacks, menaced with a return of the old slavery and attacked by great armies of Napoleon's best soldiers, fought desperately and expelled the French; but they sealed their victory with a bloody deed. In the year 1804, under the lead of Dessalines, the negro emperor, they massacred or banished the whole white population. But this, it must be remembered, was eleven years after emancipation, under provocation of the most horrid outrages inflicted by the French General, and in fear of the reëstablishment of slavery.

Reviewing the account then, we find that emancipation in St. Domingo was a political and military necessity, enacted into a statute by the French republic; that it saved the island from conquest; that it was not the occasion of massacre or pillage, but as soon as the tumults of war would permit, became the basis of a successful organization of labor, under the guidance of a negro who had been himself a slave. We find, too, that the massacres of 1791 and 1804 were in no sense caused by emancipation, since one took place two years before and the other eleven years after it; but were both the direct or indirect results of slavery. Has the story no moral for us?—*Correspondent Springfield Republican.*

SPEECH OF REV. M. D. CONWAY.

[The speech of Mr. Conway, at the German meeting in Cincinnati, Nov. 23d, for the purpose of expressing sympathy with Gen. Fremont in the course lately pursued by the Administration, is thus reported by the Cincinnati *Gazette*:]

JUDGE STALLO has alluded to me as a Virginian who can answer for the South. I certainly have lived there long enough, and felt the heavy hand of slavery enough, to know that this government is not strong enough to preserve the Union and African slavery also. And whilst this Administration is now bending itself to that impossible and undesirable work, the people will be in this conflict like Issachar of old, a strong ass crouching between two burdens; between an imbecile Administration on the one hand, and a gigantic rebellion on the other. Both Issachar *cannot* bear; and such an assembly inspires me with the hope that he will not much longer crouch, but bravely bear on to the "goodly rest and pleasant land," with the burthen of liberty on his shoulders—no longer a strong ass for the government to crush with its wretched pro-slavery pack, but a strong man with the blood which defied George III. throbbing in his heart.

Now that the standard of LIBERTY has been unfurled by Fremont over the contending parties—a higher standard than stars and stripes or stars and bars—how wretched and despicable appear the standards raised by the pigmy Generals who have gone out warm from the wing of the Administration.

What think you, my countrymen, of Sherman taking our young men from the classic shades of our colleges, and from their free homes, and offering them to the "proud and hospitable citizens of the Sovereign State of South Carolina" as the patrol of their negroes! What think you of Dix, down in Wise's district, proclaiming that his army is under strict orders to guard slavery even to the treasonable extent of refusing to take into their lines—whether belonging to traitors "or any other man"—those black producers and earthwork builders? If a man sends a barrel of corn to Virginia he is imprisoned; the man who sends there the hands which produce 10,000 barrels of corn, is Major-General of the United States army!

Can you imagine a lower depth than this? All depths are possible with this Administration. The one who comes out and proclaims latest from that glorious Republican circle at the White House, always gets a little lower than the rest. So here came "Young Lochinvar" Halleck out of the West—the mysterious Halleck. The country argued itself unknown by knowing nothing of and never having heard a word from Halleck. In breathless suspense we listen to the first utterance of him sent out to replace the nation's darling hero. At last Halleck breaks the mystical silence. Halleck pronounces. In fact, he "proclaims." His first word is a lie—his second an order for his men to deliberately betray the country. If there is any man who does not know it to be a mean, malignant lie to say that fugitive slaves have been spies against us, he should be placed, as soon as possible, in the Asylum for Idiots at South Boston. The meanness of the lie appears infernal by the side of the salvation of Sturgis's brigade, in that very State, by a fugitive slave's information, and the blunder of McDowell upon batteries, of whose existence he was ignorant—and ignorant simply because he refused fugitives an entrance within his lines. But his second word is treasonable, for it commands his soldiers to send out to the enemy alleged spies and foes of the country. Either Halleck knows he lies when he accuses the fugitives, or else he should be hung as a traitor for sending from his lines, unarrested, alleged and charged spies against the United States. Suppose Wigfall and Pryor should seek Halleck's lines in disguise, and he should say, "I misdoubt ye are spies; return to your homes, gentlemen," would he not be hung as an abettor of treason? He would certainly be hung; only our President dislikes to hang traitors, lest it might occasion them some personal inconvenience.

This, then, Americans! is the infamous, sneaking, crawling policy which replaces the electric watchword sounded by Fremont for this great nation. The idea our government has of fidelity is a Chinese fidelity. A missionary tells us that his coat being patched on the elbow, torn under the arm, and with a big grease-spot on it, he desired another; but wishing it made after the same pattern, he took the old coat and the new cloth to the Chinese tailor. In a week the tailor brought him the new coat, but what was his horror to find that the pattern of the old one had been so faithfully copied that the new one had a patch ingeniously made on the elbow, and a tear under the arm and a big grease spot that must have taken an hour in making on the fine, new cloth! Such is the government's idea of restoring this Union. The South having forced the nation to put on a new coat, this grand Cabinet cross their legs, take their goose and aim to bring us the new coat with the patch, the tear and the grease-spot, because of which it was that we needed a new one, because of which we elected Lincoln instead of Breckinridge or Douglas!

Mr. Conway then proceeded to show that a military conquest over the South, preserving slavery, would be a subjugation of ourselves as much as the South. From thenceforth the nation must leave the peaceful progress of its destiny to sit and hold the rebellious States—turning into a military government, doing nothing but watching the monster whose soul is slavery, and seeing that it doesn't poke its ugly head out again, and coil about our States again.

He concluded by assuring the Germans that many thousand native Americans were appreciating their devotion to liberty, and would join them when the hour came to root up, whatever be the obstacle, the root of bitterness in our land. The policy of the Administration will be swept away, or else the Administration itself, just so soon as the real truth is apprehended in all its full powers, that it is only the interest of a pitiful 350,000 of our people—this number of slaveholders—who, after keeping us in hot water for 85 years, now precipitate us in civil war; and that it is only because of the servility which fears to touch the impudent claim of that handful to scourge and own men and women, which makes civil war possible. A decree that this government ignores the relation of slavery ends the war. There is no army in the South, but a homeguard from that moment.

One thing the war will teach, that slavery ends in military despotism; that liberty ends in equality to all, black or white. The moment which decides between the two has arrived to this nation.

AN UNMISTAKABLE PROCLAMATION.

COL. JENNISON, Commanding the First Kansas Cavalry, recently issued a proclamation to the people of Jackson, Lafayette, Cass, Johnson and Pitts Counties, Missouri, from which this is an extract:

"For four months our armies have marched through your country; your professed friendship has been a fraud; your oaths of allegiance have been shams or perjuries; you feed the rebel army; you act as spies while claiming to be true to the Union. We don't care about your past political opinions; no man will be persecuted because he differs from us, but neutrality is impossible; if you are patriots you must fight; if you are traitors you will be punished. The time for fighting has come. Every man who feeds, harbors, protects, or in any way gives aid and comfort to the enemies of the Union, will be held responsible for his treason with his life and property; while all the property of Union men, and all their rights, will be religiously respected. Traitors will everywhere be treated as outlaws and enemies of God and man, too base to hold any description of property, and having no rights which loyal men are bound to respect. The last dollar and the last slave of rebels will be taken and turned over to the General government. Playing war is played out, and wherever Union troops are fired upon, the answer will boom from cannon, and desolation will follow treason. All the land between Fort Leavenworth and the headquarters of the army of the West is under the jurisdiction of the United States, and we propose to have a regular road over it, and safe communication through it, no matter at what cost of rebel treasure and blood."

SPEECH OF COL. JENNISON.

Correspondence of The Chicago Tribune.

CAMP JENNISON, KANSAS CITY,
Tuesday, Nov. 12, 1861.

To-night I have looked on scenes such as a few months ago men would have been considered demented to have foretold. Capt. John Brown, Jr.'s, Company of Sharpshooters arrived here this afternoon, having, on reaching Fort Leavenworth, unanimously decided to join Col. Jennison's command. They will be attached as mounted riflemen. Some sixty men are here, under Lieuts. Bostwick and Hoyt. Capt. Brown is still in your city, finishing the recruiting, and will be on in a few days. It is by all odds the finest body of men I have seen, and as they marched up the main street, singing the "John Brown song," the emotions and memories the scene excited crowded thickly on the mind of an old Kansas man like your correspondent, and were far too deep to be painted by words. As the song rung out, and the escort came to meet the new-comers, cheering lustily, there was something in the scene which will render it ineffaceable to my mind.

Stirring as was the reception of the company, it was surpassed by the scene that took place in camp after supper. The company came to the Colonel's quarters, and formed a semicircle in front. The field-officers came out, and then the "John Brown's" song by them was sung with glorious spirit. Afterwards cheers were given for the Colonel and officers generally. The bugler of the company then sung a new and very appropriate version of "Dixie," which I will send hereafter. Col. Jennison was called out, and made a characteristic speech. I cannot give you more than a short synopsis thereof. It was as forcible and couched in as strong Anglo-Saxon as the proclamation I forwarded you yesterday. Col. Jennison said: "Gentlemen and fellow-soldiers, I am not in the habit of public speaking, but will say that I never felt more like fighting than I have in the last fifteen minutes. Proud to welcome here Capt. Brown's New York company, he would say that old John Brown was the only man in the United States in whom he took stock. He first took arms under him, and, when doing so, determined never to lay them down again until the last slave in the United States was free. The time for that has now come. This regiment was organized, not for political effect, but for fighting purposes and freedom. He meant to do for treason and to kill slavery at the same time. Here he would say, that if at any time the government did not approve of such action, they could have his commission. But if that occurred, they would be likely to find him on his own hook, though, as at first, he should have but six men with him. He felt that Capt. Brown's Company had honored him, his officers and regiment, by so unitedly voting to come into it. In his own name, and that of his officers and men, he returned them thanks. He believed that everything would be done to insure mutual confidence, and wanted them to understand the programme. It was a standing order that any man bringing a rebel into camp should be put into irons. If the Colonel ever did so foolish a thing, he trusted the regiment would enforce the order. He meant to bring them out of their holes by necessitating their attendance on their families. He was ordered to guard through the government train, and, in doing so, proposed to make this country so safe that a lone widow might travel in safety. He wanted the rights of Union men respected. For rebels and the sympathizers, no temporizing. Be sure they are disloyal men, and then meet them promptly. For the half-way trash we have no room, and my test of loyalty is a willingness to fight for the Union. There can be no peace until the thing is settled, justice done on traitors, and freedom established. He had told Gen. Fremont that he would do no fighting if he thought slavery would exist when the fight was done. The slaves of rebels can always find a protection in this camp, and they will be defended to the last man and bullet. He wanted no men who were not Abolitionists—had no room for such, and trusted he had none, for all know now that slavery is at the bottom, middle and summit of this hellish war. Nor was he or his men too good to fight by darker skinned men than themselves. He meant to make 'contrabands useful,' and did not know what better use to put secesh guns to than to place them in the hands of the slaves of rebels. No excesses will be committed by his men, and he doubted not our new companions will cheerfully obey all legitimate commands. Again he thanked them."

J. SELLA MARTIN IN LONDON.

From The London Advertiser, Nov. 15.

LAST night a meeting was held in John street Chapel, John street, Bedford Row, to hear an address on "The American War and Slavery," by the Rev. J. Sella Martin, formerly a slave, but now pastor of a colored Church, at Boston, Massachusetts, United States.

The chair was taken by the Hon. and Rev. BAPTIST NOEL, minister of the chapel, who, after opening the proceedings with devotional services, proceeded at some length to advocate the cause of the North against the South in the present struggle, on imperial, territorial, political, commercial, moral and religious grounds. Quoting the authority of Washington, Webster, and other high authorities cited by Mr. Motley in his pamphlet, Mr. Noel held that the struggle involved nothing less than national existence, and so far from being of the opinion, which he frequently saw stated in the journals of this country, that delay would enable the South to conquer, he believed the very contrary. The Northern States had a population of 26,000,000—the Southern only 6,000,000. Ireland, with 6,000,000 in rebellion, had no chance against Great Britain with 20,000,000. Could a different result take place in America? The people of the North were religious, moral, wealthy and enterprising, and fully aware of the mighty game at stake now and for the future. The Southerners were poor; their cotton crop was worth two hundred million dollars a year, but it was all locked up, while their expenditure in war was two hundred million dollars, and they were already in that state that Mr. Memminger was calling upon the planters for money, while the planters in return asked for assistance from the government. He could not believe that, with all the advantages on the side of the North, battling in a righteous cause, that the weaker belligerent would ultimately triumph in a bad cause.

The Rev. J. SELLA MARTIN then came forward to address the audience, evidently suffering from severe indisposition. He said he had just left his bed, to which he had been confined since seven o'clock the previous evening, to address that meeting, but he feared he should be unable to go over the ground he had traced out for himself with great care and thoughtfulness. He had been grieved and pained by the criticisms which the moral and religious portion of the British people had passed upon what they called a fratricidal and futile war since his arrival in this country. Now, he deprecated bloodshed as much as any Christian man could, but it should be remembered *that there were worse things than war, and above all that slavery was itself a chronic war, in which thousands of slaves were murdered outright yearly*, while in the cotton and sugar-growing States the average duration of life was only nine years. Slavery also corrupted and weakened the free States themselves.

The reverend gentleman here became so ill that he was compelled to resume his seat, after expressing a hope that he should have another opportunity of stating his views at length.

The Hon. and Rev. Chairman intimated that such an opportunity would be given.

MR. CRAFT, an escaped slave, who has been ten years in this country, expressed his belief that two great benefits would arise from the present war; First, That Great Britain would be supplied with cotton from India and her West India Colonies, and thus be liberated from all dependence on the blood-stained cotton of the Southern States of America; and Second, *That the North would be driven ultimately in self-defence to decree the abolition of slavery in America.*

Much sympathy was expressed for Mr. Martin, and the proceedings were brought to a premature close in consequence of his indisposition.

THE SLAVERY QUESTION IN THE CABINET.

Washington Correspondence of The Springfield Republican.

IT is amusing to notice the discussion now going on in every circle and newspapers, respecting the slavery question as connected with the war. You need not except the Presidential circle, for it has crept into the President's house, and invaded the sanctity of the Cabinet room. The Cabinet is divided upon it, and the President does not side with either party. At a Cabinet meeting at which the whole question was discussed, the President said, "Gentlemen, you are not a unit on this question, and as it is a very important one, in fact the most important one which has come before us since the war commenced, I will float on with the tide till you are more nearly united than at present. Perhaps we shall yet *drift* into the right position." It is known that Chase, Cameron and Welles favor a decided policy on this question. Seward says that no man desires the overthrow of slavery more ardently than himself, but he very much doubts if the time has yet come for opening our batteries upon it. But if slavery really stands in the way of the Union, he says it must be crushed to the earth. Cameron is in earnest about the matter, and will give it attention in his report. So earnest is he, that he actually is a friend of the New York *Tribune*. The other night Cameron came into Willard's and walked up to a newspaper stand in the hall. Half a dozen newspaper men were standing in sight, and immediately the question was asked, "What paper will he get?" "Ten to one that it is *The Herald*," says one. "Five dollars down that it is the Philadelphia *Press*," says another. "It will be *The Enquirer!*" asserted another. "Ah! what simpletons!" cried a shrewd little fellow who had kept silence till now, "what simpletons!—*of course* he will buy *The Tribune*." *And he did!* He purchased a copy of the New York *Tribune* and no other journal, and stopped in the public hall to look it over by the gas light. This is of course an infinitesimal bit of gossip, but it is a slight indication of the change at the War Department. Prentice of the Louisville *Journal* says Cameron will have to leave the Cabinet because of his views on the slavery question, but it is a good deal more probable that the Prentice-policy will have to be abandoned. We have news this morning of the formation of a rebel regiment of slaves at Winchester under Gen. Jackson. If this be true, it is about time to adopt the suggestion of Secretary Cameron, and put arms into the hands of all negroes who will use them on the right side. The rebels confiscate property, while we hesitate to do the same. Washington is full of houses owned by rebels now in the Southern army. The buildings are either occupied by servants or are rented out temporarily to people who pass for Union men. It is high time that this kind of property was passed over to the account of Northern merchants who have been defrauded of their honest dues by repudiating Southerners.

GEN. CAMERON ON CONTRABANDS.

MR. GEORGE D. PRENTICE, Editor of the Louisville *Journal*, was in Washington a few days since, and was there honored with a complimentary dinner in recognition of his services to the cause of the Union, at which two members of the Cabinet, Messrs. Cameron and C. B. Smith, were present. Gen. Cameron made a few remarks, wherein Editor Prentice aforesaid was glorified as the Ajax of the Union cause; which—remembering that the Louisville *Journal* had immeasurably denounced and reprobated President Lincoln's first Proclamation calling on the States for seventy-five thousand militia to defend the Capital and uphold the authority of the nation—we thought singularly ill-judged and mistaken. We do not impeach Mr. Prentice's loyalty; but we think his course in the outset of this rebellion highly advantageous to the traitors and perilous to the unity of [illegible] We said nothing, however; since it [illegible] fashion to be tow all the honors and [illegible] of this conflict on the Latter-Day Saints, [illegible] and are for the Union first and last, without hesitation or qualification, are allowed to thank their stars that they are not yet sent to Fort Lafayette. We were a little surprised, however, when we learned that the Louisville *Journal* had returned the [illegible] compliments in the following spirit:

"[illegible] certainly [illegible] is not [illegible] what else the [illegible] has [illegible] would be [illegible] and a sore evil to the [illegible]."

Isn't that rather an Irish echo for you?—*Tribune.*

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, DECEMBER 7, 1861.

THE MANIFEST DESTINY.

THERE is something absolutely sublime in the solemn movement of Events, since this war was begun a year ago by the election of President Lincoln. Never was the insignificance of men made more manifest than in the presence of these mighty agencies. They have seemed like the great forces of Nature, silent in their beginnings, gathering up their strength as they went on, and irresistible in their final sweep. It seems as if the Word of the Lord had gone forth to this stiff-necked nation—"Let my people go!" and as if all the resistance that has been made to the Divine command had been ground to powder under His chariot-wheels. All manner of obstacles have been interposed by all manner of men, from Pharaoh in the Palace to the meanest of the Magicians that conjure for hire, but their devices have been brought low and the Lord hath laughed them to scorn. The men have not been mighty men, to be sure, but it would have made no difference if they had been. The finger of Samson were as ineffectual to stop the wheels of this destiny as that of a new-weaned child. The prescient wisdom which should have seen into the secrets of the powers at work, and the prevenient grace which should have yielded a glad assistance to their workings, have been wanting, and we fear will be wanting to the last. But the current of Events is surely bearing along on its tide the enemies as well as the friends of the negro, and they that are neither the one nor the other, but only their own friends, and they will find themselves yet, all together, with a good grace or with a bad one, in the safe harbor of Emancipation.

We do not say that this will be done without the help of man. For men are part and parcel of Events—drops in the stream which make up its conquering force. But the efforts of men to check or divert the course of Events when it has once set in, are as vain as to stop the flow of the tides. They may make some temporary barrier or diversion, but in the end the powers of Nature are too strong for those of man. That slavery must come to an end on this continent has been the enduring faith of the Abolitionists. In this faith they have persevered unto this hour for thirty years, in the face of every imaginable opposition. They believed in Eternal Laws and in that of the Divine Justice, especially, [illegible] they were sure that this false and cruel system must come to an end as certainly as that a pyramid resting on its apex must finally come down. They believed the laws of the moral universe no less fixed and crushing than those of the physical universe. This has not been the philosophy of the men whom the American people have called to the high places, since the anti-slavery movement began. It is not the clear philosophy of those now in power, though Events are fast compelling them to act as if it were. The theory of the Calhouns, Clays and Websters was that men could counteract the counsels of the Most High, if they could not absolutely repeal his laws. In this barren wilderness they wandered for the fulness of forty years, as did their prototypes, the rebellious Jews of old, in that of Sinai—from 1820 to 1860. Every contrivance of Compromise, of Adjustment, of Submission, from that of Missouri to the humiliation of the Fugitive Slave Act, was tried, in order to reënact the Laws of God with additions and amendments. But it was all in vain, and the very peace which had been hoped for as the reward of these devices has been turned into Civil War, after passing through an intermediate stage of insolence and outrage such as the tyrant ever delights in heaping upon the tools he has used.

Perhaps it is too much to expect of any American Administration that it should lead the people. It is the genius of our institutions that they eliminate the souls from men's bodies before they can be hoisted up to the heights of power. To divine the direction popular prejudices are likely to take, to study the worst passions of the masses, so that by taking the tide at the flood they may be borne on to fortune, to learn the art of buying up voters with their own money, these are the accomplishments to which our public men for many years have owed their greatness. Such men cannot lead the people. They must needs be driven of them. But it would seem as if even they might have a fixed and uniform policy as to a matter with which they and their agents have to deal every day. Mr. Lincoln evidently thinks that the Union can be reconquered and reëstablished on its old foundation of slavery and slave-catching. Gen. Cameron, a man of wider range and more varied experience, sees that both parts of the proposition are impossible; that the South cannot be conquered on the principle of maintaining for them the cause of their rebellion while putting it down, and that the reëstablishment of the *status quo ante bellum* is a still more patent absurdity. Success in the War, without Emancipation, is a Military Impossibility, and a Reunion with slavery a political one. He is bold enough to give utterance to the first of these propositions, with a not remote implication of the last; and one Mr. Smith, said to be one of the Cabinet, but of whose existence we have yet to find the first person that had heard, comes cranking in, and denies that the Cabinet has any such notions at all! And neither Smith nor Cameron have yet left or been ousted from the Cabinet! It must be a Happy Family, indeed, which Barnum might well desiderate, if its members can live together in amity with natures of such inherent hostilities.

The same want of unison on the one subject upon which there should be a perfect understanding is to be seen in all the lower places, of course. Generals and Colonels catch negroes or not according to their natural tastes and proclivities. Gen. Sherman, after recognizing all that the Rebels ask in his Proclamation to "the great and sovereign State of South Carolina," naturally does not dare to help himself to the lawful prize of war under his nose, nor to employ the black force at hand in collecting it, from the paralysis which slavery works on all who will not grapple with it. Gen. Halleck, sent to reform the abuses left behind him by Gen. Fremont, and to which Gen. Hunter, Virginian though he were, was not equal, cleanses the Augean stable with a sweeping besom. On the pretence that slaves, who have run away from their masters to the camp, run back again to tell them what is going on there, he forbids their being received there at all! And by way of emphatic commentary on this new danger, he orders all those then in the camp, full as they were of information, to be turned out forthwith to carry it post-haste to their Rebel masters! Did man ever before make such haste to stultify himself? Gen. Lane, at Boston last Saturday, qualified this general order as "*a lie!*" We think this rather too hard language. We do not think Gen. Halleck *a liar;* but we must choose between that and his being *a fool.* There can be no middle ground on which to stand. He is said to be an accomplished officer. He may know how to set a squadron in the field but he knows nothing further, more than a spinster. The *prestige* of the West Point men is fast disappearing. The public thought, at first, none other fit for any command. They are fast being taught by the blunders of such and the successes of the civilian soldiers, to believe that they should never be trusted with more than a regiment.

But, notwithstanding all this chronic blundering and incapacity, the cause goes on. The necessities of War have compelled the Administration to strengthen Gen. Sherman's back. Gen. Price will probably take care of Gen. Halleck. The War is fast obliging the government and the country to take the ground of Gen. Cameron. Union and Liberty, Slavery and Disunion, is more and more clearly seen to be the only alternative. The slaves and the slaveholders are fast educating the army into Abolitionists. And the slave feels instinctively that whoever is against his master must be his friend. He knows not how, but his soul divines that liberty is at hand.

"Libertas, quæ sera tamen respexit inertem,
Respexit tamen et longopost tempore venit."

We trust that Congress, which is now in session, will recognize the great work which Providence has put in their way. But, whether they choose to be immortal or infamous, the work will be done. If done by none other, it may be done in wise desperation by the Davis government, if not by ours. They might thus secure their recognition by the Great Powers, and, relieved of their element of weakness, stand up a Power on Earth themselves. Perhaps God does not mean that we should have the glory of being the instruments of His justice. Be this as it may, the foolishness and the wrath of man are working together to praise Him, and the harmony these disorders will produce must be the Anthem of Emancipation.

REPUBLICAN MAYOR OF NEW YORK.

GEORGE OPDYKE, Republican, was on Tuesday last elected Mayor of New York for the years 1862 and 1863, by a plurality of 771 over the Tammany Democratic candidate, and of 1,410 over Fernando Wood, the present corrupt incumbent.

In view of Mr. Opdyke's well-known anti-slavery sentiments and of the efforts of *The Herald* to cry him down as an Abolitionist, his election affords grounds of rejoicing to all the friends of freedom and humanity. Mr. Opdyke's name was placed—without his knowledge it seems—at the head of the list of Vice-Presidents of the meeting convened to hear Senator Sumner's speech on the Rebellion; and as the list [see first page] embraced the names of several prominent Abolitionists, *The Herald* attacked him day after day in paragraphs of which these are specimens:

> "OPDYKE AND THE BLACK FLAG OF ABOLITIONISM.—Opdyke having raised the black flag and gone over to the Abolitionists, let all who have any regard for the stars and stripes vote against him on Tuesday next."
>
> "OPDYKE AND HIS ABOLITION ASSOCIATES.—At the recent Sumner meeting the Republican candidate for Mayor was one of the Vice-Presidents, occupying a seat by the side of Oliver Johnson, of THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD, and other shining lights of that faith. He, by that act, gave his endorsement to the emancipation measures of the Abolitionists and their crusade against the institutions of the South. Is it the desire of the voters of this city to endorse abolitionism at the polls on Tuesday next? If not, then let them vote against Opdyke."
>
> "Sumner's disorganizing speech was cordially endorsed by the meeting, of which George Opdyke was first Vice-President, and of which such malignant abolition fanatics as Dr. Cheever, Oliver Johnson and William Goodell were associate Vice-Presidents. Mr. Opdyke has thus completely identified himself with the radical abolition and negro equality faction. Not satisfied with this, his especial newspaper organs—*The Evening Post* and New York *Tribune*—are among the most active abolition instruments in the work of undermining and breaking down Mr. Lincoln's conservative administration. If they cannot rule it they will ruin it, and Mr. Opdyke is a party to this unholy alliance."

Mr. Opdyke is *not* an Abolitionist, but a Republican, and, fearing the attacks of *The Herald* might mislead some who, if they knew the exact truth, would give him their votes, he said so in a card—stating at the same time that he was not present at Mr. Sumner's lecture and that his name was used on the occasion without his knowledge or consent. His card, we presume, contained the exact truth; but we doubt if he gained a single vote by it, while we are sure that he lost several at least. In his card, however, he did not shrink from the avowal of his real opinions, which he said were "correctly set forth" in a speech delivered on Saturday evening by Judge Cowles, from which this is an extract:

> "It is proper, however, for me to say that I have the authority of Mr. Opdyke himself for the assertion that it is not true—as has been charged—that our candidate has been or is in favor of a prosecution of this war as a war of emancipation merely (applause). He believes that, on the part of the Union, this is a war of defence—a war waged by traitors and rebels against the integrity of the United States for the overthrow of its Constitution and the destruction of the Union. And he is for resisting that war and for putting down this vast, wide-spread rebellion, with all the power of the government, and all the means it can command (tremendous cheering). From the time this conspiracy against the Union first began to make its demonstrations in the harbor of Charleston, down to the present time, he and we all have seen the African population of the South used and employed by the Confederates for the construction of entrenchments, batteries, forts, and the mounting of guns, in hostility to the power of our government. The batteries that frowned upon our flag at Fort Sumter were constructed mainly by slave labor. The same has been the case as regards the rebel batteries at Fort Pickens. Those guns which, from the earthworks at Stone Bridge, hurled death upon our National soldiery, were mainly mounted and in part served by slaves (sensation.) Organized working-parties, consisting of slaves, are now regularly engaged in the Southern armies, and graphic descriptions of their spirit and zeal are found in Southern journals. Organized corps of armed soldiers are now being raised for and are found in the ranks of Southern troops. Proclamations, since the landing of our gallant troops on the soil of South Carolina, have been issued by the authorities there, calling for the services of large bodies of slaves to throw up entrenched works for the protection of rebel troops, while nearly all of the productions which sustain the Confederate troops are raised and transported to their army dépôts by Southern slaves. In these ways, and to a large extent, this rebellion has been and is now being sustained by the use of slaves. When, therefore, in view of all these facts, our arms shall penetrate these rebellious States, your candidate, George Opdyke, sees nothing wrong in applying to these insurgents in arms against the life of the Republic the usual and ordinary well-recognized rules of war, so far as such rules shall enable us to bring to the aid of our gallant armies all manner of resources made use of by the enemy in aid of their rebellion (applause). He would use the horses and the cattle of the rebels for transportation and for rations for our troops. He would seize the slave digging entrenchments or mounting guns to resist and destroy Union troops, and cause him to dig entrenchments and mount guns in aid of Union troops. If he found the slave encouraged or enforced to bear arms for the rebels, and against the Union, he would use that same slave against the rebels, and for the restoration of the Union (applause). In short, he finds nothing in that which the rebels term slave property so much more sacred in its nature or in the claim of the rebel master to its exclusive use and enjoyment over other property, as that, while the slave may be used by rebellion to destroy our Union, the armies of the Union may not justly and properly wrest that slave from the hands of rebellion, and use him to sustain and uphold that fairest fabric of constitutional government on which the light of heaven, like the blessing of God, has ever shone ("that's the talk," great applause). What—when this unholy war shall have been brought to a close, and rebellion been made to hide its head in dishonor, and in shame—what shall then be the condition of the slave who has helped to fight the battle of constitutional liberty, may be safely left, if government so decrees, to be determined by the exigency of then passing events. That such a slave will be rendered back against his will to bondage, neither George Opdyke, nor you, nor I believe (enthusiastic and prolonged applause. 'Can't do it'). The inexorable logic of circumstances—the eternal laws of equity and justice, would forbid it. These are the views of George Opdyke. They are the views which he believes must be accepted and acted upon by our government, whether it is prepared or not to announce them now. Nothing less than this is just to our gallant and devoted army, or just to the slave (applause). We would wage no war of emancipation as such, or for that sole object. But while and as long as this rebellion rages, we will wrest from the rebels slaves used and employed for the promotion of treason, and use them, if need be, as fighting defenders of constitutional liberty (great applause). If, in thus using the slave to suppress treason, the necessary or inevitable subsequent result shall prove to be that slave's future freedom, treason, not loyalty, will be answerable for the result. The motto of our candidate through this war will be: 'Live the Republic, though slavery perish'—(applause)—but never that other sentiment, which seems to run through the late speech of his competitor: 'Live slavery, though the Republic perish' (hisses and applause)."

Mr. Opdyke, it will be seen, goes quite as far as Mr. Sumner or the Secretary of War, and we cannot help rejoicing in the election of such a man for Mayor of this city over that unscrupulous demagogue, Fernando Wood, and that semi-secessionist, C. Godfrey Gunther, the candidate of Old Tammany.

GEN. FREMONT and his wife arrived in this city on the 29th ult., and took lodgings at the Astor House, where he still remains. A large number of the friends of freedom have availed themselves of the opportunity to testify their respect for the man who, as a General, had the courage to strike at the cause of the Rebellion, and who, on that account, as they believe, has been proscribed. The General receives with courtesy those who call upon him, but declines all public demonstrations as inappropriate under present circumstances. Mrs. Fremont wins all hearts by her ingenuousness and devotion to the idea of which her husband is the representative.

REPORT OF THE SECRETARY OF WAR.

THE Report of the Secretary of War, as originally presented to the President, contained the following paragraphs:

It has become a grave question for determination, what shall be done with the slaves abandoned by their owners on the advance of our troops into Southern territory, as in the Beaufort district of South Carolina. The whole white population therein is 6,000, while the number of negroes exceeds 32,000. The panic which drove their masters in wild confusion from their homes leaves them in undisputed possession of the soil. Shall they, armed by their masters, be placed in the field to fight against us, or shall their labor be continually employed in reproducing the means for supporting the armies of rebellion?

The war into which this government has been forced by rebellious traitors is carried on for the purpose of repossessing the property violently and treacherously seized upon by the enemies of the government, and to reëstablish the authority and laws of the United States in the places where they are opposed or overthrown by armed insurrection and rebellion. Its purpose is to recover and defend what is justly its own.

War, even between independent nations, is made to subdue the enemy, and all that belongs to that enemy, by occupying the hostile country, and exercising dominion over all the men and things within its territory. This being true in respect to independent nations at war with each other, it follows that rebels who are laboring by force of arms to overthrow a government, justly bring upon themselves all the consequences of war, and provoke the destruction merited by the worst of crimes. That government would be false to national trust, and would justly excite the ridicule of the civilized world, that would abstain from the use of any efficient means to preserve its own existence, or to overcome a rebellious and traitorous enemy, by sparing or protecting the property of those who are waging war against it.

The principal wealth and power of the rebel States is a peculiar species of property, consisting of the service or labor of African slaves, or the descendants of Africans. This property has been variously estimated at the value of from $700,000,000 to $1,000,000,000.

Why should this property be exempt from the hazards and consequences of a rebellious war?

It was the boast of the leader of the rebellion, while he yet had a seat in the Senate of the United States, that the Southern States would be comparatively safe and free from the burdens of war, if it should be brought on by the contemplated rebellion, and that boast was accompanied by the savage threat that "Northern towns and cities would become the victims of rapine and military spoil," and that "Northern men should smell Southern gunpowder and feel Southern steel." No one doubts the disposition of the rebels to carry that threat into execution. The wealth of Northern towns and cities, the produce of Northern farms, Northern workshops and manufactories, would certainly be seized, destroyed, or appropriated as military spoil. No property in the North would be spared from the hands of the rebels, and their rapine would be defended under the laws of war. While the loyal States thus have all their property and possessions at stake, are the insurgent rebels to carry on warfare against the government in peace and security to their own property?

Reason and justice, and self-preservation, forbid that such should be the policy of this government, but demand, on the contrary, that, being forced by traitors and rebels to the extremity of war, all the rights and powers of war should be exercised to bring it to a speedy end.

Those who make war against the government justly forfeit all rights of property, privilege, or security, derived from the Constitution and laws, against which they are in armed rebellion; and as the labor and service of their slaves constitute the chief property of the rebels, such property should share the common fate of war to which they have devoted the property of loyal citizens.

While it is plain that the slave property of the South is justly subjected to all the consequences of this rebellious war, and that the government would be untrue to its trust in not employing all the rights and powers of war to bring it to a speedy close, the details of the plan for doing so, like all other military measures, must, in a great degree, be left to be determined by particular exigencies. The disposition of other property belonging to the rebels that becomes subject to our arms is governed by the circumstances of the case. The government has no power to hold slaves, none to restrain a slave of his liberty, or to exact his service. It has a right, however, to use the voluntary service of slaves liberated by war from their rebel masters, like any other property of the rebels, in whatever mode may be most efficient for the defence of the government, the prosecution of the war, and the suppression of the rebellion. It is as clearly a right of the government to arm slaves when it may become necessary as it is to use gunpowder taken from the enemy. Whether it is expedient to do so is purely a military question. The right is unquestionable by the laws of war. The expediency must be determined by circumstances, keeping in view the great object of overcoming the rebels, reëstablishing the laws, and restoring peace to the nation.

It is vain and idle for the government to carry on this war, or hope to maintain its existence against rebellious force, without employing all the rights and powers of war. As has been said, the right to deprive the rebels of their property in slaves and slave labor is as clear and absolute, as the right to take forage from the field, or cotton from the warehouse, or powder and arms from the magazine. To leave the enemy in the possession of such property as forage and cotton and military stores, and the means of constantly reproducing them, would be madness. It is, therefore, equal madness to leave them in peaceful and secure possession of slave property, more valuable and efficient to them for war, than forage, cotton, and military stores. Such policy would be national suicide. What to do with that species of property, is a question that time and circumstance will solve, and need not be anticipated further than to repeat that they cannot be held by the government as slaves. It would be useless to keep them as prisoners of war; and self-preservation, the highest duty of a government, or of individuals, demands that they should be disposed of or employed in the most effective manner that will tend most speedily to suppress the insurrection and restore the authority of the government. If it shall be found that the men who have been held by the rebels as slaves are capable of bearing arms and performing efficient military service, it is the right, and may become the duty, of the government to arm and equip them, and employ their services against the rebels, under proper military regulation, discipline, and command.

But in whatever manner they may be used by the government, it is plain that, once liberated by the rebellious act of their masters, they should never again be restored to bondage. By the master's treason and rebellion he forfeits all right to the labor and service of his slave; and the slave of the rebellious master, by his service to the government, becomes justly entitled to freedom and protection.

The disposition to be made of the slaves of rebels, after the close of the war, can be safely left to the wisdom and patriotism of Congress. The Representatives of the people will unquestionably secure to the loyal slaveholders every right to which they are entitled under the Constitution of the country.

SIMON CAMERON, Secretary of War.

The foregoing passages were so distasteful to the President that he was unwilling to send the Report to Congress until they should be struck out or modified. The following dispatch, explaining the affair, was prepared to be sent for *The Tribune* of Tuesday, but suppressed by the government censor in the Washington telegraph office:

WASHINGTON, Dec. 2, 1861.

The call of the roll had scarcely ended in the House, when the temper of the people was strikingly manifested by their Representatives hastening, without delaying a moment for Presidential or other message, to pass a resolution emancipating the slaves of rebels within the military jurisdictions. Before the vote upon it was recorded, a painful rumor pervaded the Hall that the President had taken open issue on this very question with Secretary Cameron, and had recalled from the Philadelphia Post Office the undelivered copies of the War Department Report which the latter had mailed yesterday for the use of the newspaper press. The city was filled with rumors of a breaking up of the Cabinet, and the influence of the revolution we are passing through, in attaching men to principles while weakening their hold on laws and forms, was everywhere strikingly and most suggestively conspicuous. The excitement occasioned by this Executive opposition to the necessities of the war and to the popular will, to-night sways the hotels and parlors of the city. The history of the difference between the President and the Secretary of War has at last taken this shape. The Secretary presented his report to Mr. Lincoln on Saturday. On Sunday afternoon he mailed it to the principal papers of the North and West, as is customary on the day preceding the reading of the Message. On Sunday night the President having found time to read it, found it not in his heart to agree with the Secretary's doctrine of the slaves of rebels—to arm them, if necessary—and in all ways to use them as we would any other property of the rebels to suppress this rebellion. He sent for Mr. Cameron, and required him to suppress this whole portion of the report, on the ground that its recommendation was premature and ill-timed. The Secretary promptly and resolutely refused to suppress a word of it. The discussion between them was protracted. It ended as it began, the President insisting upon the alteration, and the Secretary respectfully but firmly refusing to change a syllable of his recommendations. A subsequent interview in the afternoon had a similar conclusion of debate, but a new and strange conclusion of Executive will. The President announced his purpose to strike out the entire passage about the emancipation and arming of the slaves before sending in the report with his Message to Congress. Mr. Cameron declared he should not recall or suppress the document in the hands of Northern and Western Editors, and that the printers were at liberty to do with his report what they pleased. Which of the two copies will the people read and the army prefer?

And yet it would seem that Mr. Cameron *did* consent to strike out the obnoxious paragraphs and substitute the following:

It is already a grave question what shall be done by the slaves who are abandoned by their owners on the advance of our troops into Southern territory, as at Beaufort District, in South Carolina. The number left within our control at that point is very considerable, and similar cases will probably occur. What shall be done with them? Can we afford to send them forward to their masters, to be by them armed against us, or used in introducing supplies to maintain the rebellion? Their labor may be useful to us; withheld from the enemy, it lessens his military resources, and withholding them has no tendency to induce the horrors of insurrection even in the rebel communities. They constitute a military resource, and, being such, that they should not be turned over to the enemy is too plain to discuss. Why deprive him of supplies by a blockade, and voluntarily give him men to produce supplies? The disposition to be made of the slaves of rebels after the close of the war can be safely left to the wisdom and patriotism of Congress. The representatives of the people will, unquestionably, secure to the loyal slaveholders every right to which they are entitled under the Constitution of the country.

SIMON CAMERON, Secretary of War.

To the PRESIDENT of the United States.

Upon this state of facts we have not room now to comment, further than to say that in our opinion the overwhelming majority of the people of the North will approve the Report in its original shape, and regret that the President was not prepared to give it his sanction.

THE SLAVE TRADE IN NEW YORK.

CAPTAIN GORDON SENTENCED TO BE HUNG.

NATHANIEL GORDON, Captain of the slaver Erie, who was lately convicted upon a charge of piracy in the U. S. Circuit Court of this city, received his sentence on Saturday last. The efforts of his counsel to procure a new trial were unavailing, and the probability is that the prisoner will be hung on the day named in the sentence. Judge Shipman pronounced the doom of the prisoner in the terms following:

> "It appears from the evidence in this case that in the summer of 1860 you sailed in the ship Erie from Havana, in the Island of Cuba, bound to the coast of Africa. You were master of the vessel, and had on board a competent crew, and a large amount of provisions of a kind and quality appropriate for food for a large number of persons, and such as is usually carried out in vessels which are intended for the slave trade.
>
> "The ship also had on board a large number of water casks as well as a quantity of liquor, which latter was to be left in Africa—probably exchanged for the freight which you undertook to bring back to Cuba. In command of this ship, thus manned and provided, you proceeded to the Congo River, on the West Coast of Africa, and then, after landing your cargo and subsequently reshipping all, or nearly all, but the liquor, and filling your water casks with fresh water, you dropped your vessel down the river to a point a few miles from its mouth, and in a few hours, on the afternoon of the 7th of August, you took on board 879 of the inhabitants of that country, thrust them, densely packed and crowded, between the decks of the ship, and immediately set sail for Cuba.
>
> "On the morning of the 8th, in the Atlantic Ocean, about fifty miles from the coast, you were captured by the United States war vessel Mohican, your ship taken to Monrovia, where all the unfortunate victims of your crime then living were put on shore, and you were brought in your ship to this port. Upon these facts you have been accused, brought to trial before a jury of your countrymen, and found guilty of a crime for which the laws of your country adjudge you a pirate, and inflict upon you the punishment of death. In the verdict of the jury it is my duty to say that the Court fully concurred. The evidence of your guilt was so full and complete as to exclude from the minds of your triers all doubt.
>
> "You are soon to be confronted with the terrible consequences of your crime, and it is proper that I should call to your mind the duty of preparing for that event which will soon terminate your mortal existence, and usher you into the presence of the Supreme Judge.
>
> "Let me implore you to seek the spiritual guidance of the ministers of religion; and let your repentance be as humble and thorough as your crime was great. Do not attempt to hide its enormity from yourself; think of the cruelty and wickedness of seizing nearly a thousand fellow-beings, who never did you harm, and thrusting them beneath the decks of a small ship, beneath a burning tropical sun, to die of disease or suffocation, or be transported to distant lands, and be consigned, they and their posterity, to a fate far more cruel than death.
>
> "Think of the sufferings of the unhappy beings whom you crowded on the Erie; of their helpless agony and terror as you took them from their native land; and especially think of those who perished under the weight of their miseries on the passage from the place of your capture to Monrovia? Remember that you showed mercy to none, carrying off, as you did, not only those of your own sex, but women and helpless children.
>
> "Do not flatter yourself that because they belonged to a different race from yourself your guilt is therefore lessened—rather fear that it is increased. In the just and generous heart, the humble and the weak inspire compassion and call for pity and forbearance. As you will soon pass to the presence of that God of the black man as well as the white man, who is no respecter of persons, do not indulge for a moment the thought that he hears with indifference the cry of the humblest of his children. Do not imagine that because others shared in the guilt of this enterprise, yours is thereby diminished; but remember the awful admonition of your Bible, 'Though hand join in hand, the wicked shall not go unpunished.'
>
> "Turn your thoughts toward Him who alone can pardon, and who is not deaf to the supplications of those who seek His mercy.
>
> "It remains only to pronounce the sentence which the law affixes to your crime, which is, that you be taken back to the City Prison, whence you were brought, and remain there until Friday, the 7th day of February next, and then and there, the place of execution, between the hours of 12 o'clock at noon and 3 o'clock in the afternoon on that day, be hanged by the neck until you are dead, and may the Lord have mercy upon your soul."

As the Judge concluded the delivery of the sentence, the stoical expression which Gordon's countenance had assumed was for a moment relaxed; but when the order was given to remand him, he stepped quickly forward, and proceeded with much firmness with the officer to the Toombs, where he was met by his wife. An affecting interview took place, Mrs. Gordon being overwhelmed with grief.

This is the first capital conviction under the laws of the United States against the slave trade.

—Samuel P. Skinner, of New Bedford, convicted of fitting the ship Margaret Scott for a slaver, has been sentenced to pay a fine of $1,000, and confinement in the Taunton Jail for five years.

MEMORIAL OF THE PEOPLE TO CONGRESS.

"Proclaim Liberty throughout all the land, to all the Inhabitants thereof."

To the Congress of the United States:

THE undersigned, citizens of , State of , respectfully submit—

That as the present formidable rebellion against the General government manifestly finds its root and nourishment in the system of chattel slavery at the South; as the leading conspirators are slaveholders, who constitute an oligarchy avowedly hostile to all free institutions; and as, in the nature of things, no solid peace can be maintained while the cause of this treasonable revolt is permitted to exist; your honorable body is urgently implored to lose no time in enacting, under the war power, the total abolition of slavery throughout the country—liberating unconditionally the slaves of all who are rebels, and, while not recognizing the right of property in man, allowing for the emancipated slaves of such as are loyal to the government a fair pecuniary award, as a conciliatory measure, and to facilitate an amicable adjustment of difficulties; and thus to bring the war to a speedy and beneficent termination, and indissolubly to unite all sections and all interests of the country upon the enduring basis of universal freedom.

☞ *Editors of newspapers are requested to give this Memorial one or more insertions in their columns.*

Printed copies of the above Memorial may be obtained at the Anti-Slavery Offices in New York, Philadelphia and Boston, and of Joel McMillan, Salem, Ohio. Persons applying to Mr. McMillan will enclose payment at the rate of $1.25 per hundred, to cover cost of paper and printing.

ANTI-SLAVERY MEN IN OFFICE.—Among the recent appointments of the present Administration we notice the names of H. R. Helper and E. D. Culver. We have previously announced the selection, for important posts, of Joshua R. Giddings, Thaddeus Hyatt, Cassius M. Clay, John C. Underwood, Hiram Barney, William Elder, H. B. Stanton, and other well known names in anti-slavery circles.

VERMONT has not yet been disgraced by the repeal of her Personal Liberty law. All the pro-slavery hunkerism of the State combined to effect the object, and the bill for the purpose was carried through the Senate, a body composed chiefly of lawyers; but the House, composed chiefly of plain farmers and mechanics, killed it.

Our European Correspondence.

NOVEMBER 2d, 1861.

To the Editor of The National Anti-Slavery Standard.

SIR: The confusion of opinions as to the cause and meaning of your civil war seems to have become "worse confounded" on both sides of the Atlantic since I wrote last. Here we have at once your very true remark, of three weeks since, that the weak point of the American case is hit in the European complaint that your countrymen do not know what they are fighting for; we have Gen. Fremont's procedure, and the President's comment on it; we have Mr. Sumner's speech at Worcester, and the protests against it of divers correspondents of European newspapers; we have vindications of the Southern cause and case from Americans who date from New York as well as from London; and we have to-day Mr. Theodore Fay's extraordinary rant, which makes us ask whether he has left the career of diplomacy for a mission from the Latter Day Saints. I have just been reading it, since I begun this page, but I need not discuss it—first, because you and your readers are, I doubt not, much of my mind about it; and next, because its vast number of paragraphs respectively answer each other. I think we shall probably agree that the finest stroke in the whole production is Mr. Fay's account of the holy course of the North during the last twenty years—namely, making its Christian principles subservient to the Constitution. Seriously, however, it is a grave misfortune to your country now that the Northern case is no better vindicated by its public writers and speakers than the Southern. No two of them agree in their statements of the causes and rationale of the war; and no one of them seems to be collected enough to understand any view of the matter held in England and other European countries. For one instance, from the day of Messrs. Clay and Burlingame's speeches to that of Mr. Fay's sermon, one or another has reported of our Ministers as being favorable to the South, while France was lauded as about to be enthusiastic for the North. During the very time that this notion was expatiated on, on both sides the water, the truth has been that, in the first place, the public policy of England and France has been precisely the same, while in private it has required the full strength of the English Cabinet to restrain two other governments from breaking the blockade. So we understand the case to be. Of the disposition of the people of France we have no more doubt than of our own; but in France the people and the government are not one, as they are here. Something which has appeared in the Paris papers this week confirms our belief that the case is really as I have said. You, no doubt, are as familiar as we are with the ordinary practice of the French government, when an aggression is meditated—of allowing some of its scribes to impute the design, whatever it may be, to some neighbor; and then the act is perpetrated on the plea of self-defence or equality of right. Every neighbor of France has been charged with some discreditable scheme or another; and the charge serves as a feeler at least, if it does not make room for aggressive action. We see, accordingly, a paragraph thrown out this week charging England with an intention to break the American blockade, and skilfully glancing at French interests in the case. It is hoped, no doubt, that the action of the English Cabinet at that very moment is known only within the Cabinet; but the audacity of writing in that manner for the eyes of English Ministers, as well as other people, is not small. The policy of our government is, however, so plain (though by no means easy) that there is a very good understanding between Ministers and people on foreign questions; and the meaning of the French imputation is very intelligible to everybody who is accustomed to distinguish the Emperor's servants at Paris from the people of France. To either the hostile or the ignorant, however, a great advantage is given against you by the incessant mutual contradictions of Americans as to what they are contending for. Since I wrote last, it has become plain that one phase (whatever its conditions really were) has passed away, and another is coming into view; and if this could be clearly made known, in your country and mine, I should have more hope of some sort of good result than I have ever had yet.

On the whole, the weight of testimony has hitherto shown that the struggle was, or was believed to be, for the Union—for the Constitution. Mr. Fay, at this late date, follows Mrs. Stowe in insisting that it was from the outset for the abolition of slavery, and in scolding England for not seeing or believing it to be so. To us it has seemed more true that the aim was to maintain the Constitution which sanctions slavery. I need not recapitulate here the lapses made by the Washington government from its own theory and statement of the conflict. You know them, and we know them; and we all understand that they have been such as to invalidate the claims and pretexts of the Federal government, so that the national condition had become revolutionary before Gen. Fremont attempted to take the guidance of it. Its revolutionary character since the date of his proclamation has been demonstrated (if demonstration were needed) by Mr. Sumner's speech, and by the action immediately taken (as we suppose from your newspapers) by the Abolitionists—daily becoming a stronger party in the community. It is of the utmost importance that the fact of the new phase should be recognized everywhere—not only that Europe should see that the abolition of slavery has really become an avowed aim, but that Americans should feel and declare that the old polity has passed away, and that the business of the nation now is to construct a new one—as like the former as they please, if the vices of the former are excluded. In such a case, the fundamental principle of the republic will have to be acted upon—that all good government is based on the consent of the governed; and every pretence of coercing the Southern population into reunion must, of course, be given up. It may be necessary to march over the whole South, in order to enable as many of the inhabitants as please to join the new Union; but, if coercion were as easy as it is certainly impracticable, it cannot be even proposed, except in defiance of the world's ridicule, from the moment that the North ceases to contend for the old Constitution. I suppose there must be much splitting at the North before the aim is decided upon. It is no news to anybody that there are divisions at the North. They have existed so long, and for such strong reasons, that they could not be healed by a summons to war; and we see but too much evidence of them now in the repression of free speech, and the abeyance of the liberties of the citizen in one part of the late Union as much as in the other. Let but the avowal be fairly made that the republic of a year ago no longer exists, and that the aim is to construct an improved one, and the worst difficulties will be over in your country, and the most hopeless misapprehensions in mine.

The recent number of *The Edinburgh Review* must, however, have shown you by this time that the case is better understood here than some of your countrymen have supposed. I hope that those of the citizens who have complained of English stupidity and ignorance will carefully study that article—not only because it will alter their view of the value of foreign judgments on their case, but because it must be instructive to them to learn why our political philosophers and constitutional lawyers regard the American conflict as the most serious event of the century; why they do not sympathize in the trumpet-blowings, vaunts, and prophetic moods of people who are unconscious of their own position, and unprepared for calamities to come; and why they turn with melancholy disgust from the exhibitions of vindictive passion which show that, whatever may be the destiny of the late United States, their inhabitants can never again constitute one nation. There are points in that article—and some of great importance (as gradual emancipation)—which I dissent from, and could confidently argue against; but I rejoice that it has appeared. I trust it will sober some inflated minds, startle some complacent commentators on events, and convict some political preachers to their own consciences of having misled their neighbors, and disparaged the judgment of some friends whose counsel might have been valuable. If not so, its spirit and temper, and the quality of its exposition and argument cannot but be of service, I think, in the way of admonition and example. It cannot truthfully prophesy smooth things; but it may disclose the real path of duty to some from whom it had been hidden by the haze and glare of imagination and passion. I do not know who wrote it, though I have my conjectures. Whoever he may be, he will have removed a good deal of actual English ignorance, and stopped future ignorant imputations of ignorance and ill-will, such as have been impudently and erroneously sent over hither by men who should [illegible] wiser than alienating their best friends.

This reminds me of the advertisement I see in THE STANDARD about the remittance of subscriptions, foreign and domestic, to the Treasurer of the American Anti-Slavery Society. I hope and believe that there will be some of the friends of the cause in England who will feel able to extend their support to it, through all changes of circumstance; but it cannot but be felt by you that we cannot ask our neighbors for money which may be applied in traducing the government which it is their citizen duty to sustain, or in apparently sanctioning imputations of fraud against the community in which their life's work lies. When Mr. Wendell Phillips follows Mr. Seward in pointing out Canada as future booty to his countrymen, and publishing gratuitous suspicions that we are stealthily giving money aid and comfort to the Confederates, we cannot ask English men and women to give money which is to be spent in furthering such views and proposals. This must be enough to say on a point on which your comrades will, no doubt, feel exactly as we do.

Your national case is not the only one which grows graver from month to month. Some of us foresaw what must happen to you; and, for the same reason, we foresaw what must happen to Russia. There will probably be more news before this reaches you. Meantime, the collision which must introduce revolution has begun, and the Emperor is very speedily punished for his fatal mistake of leaving the bureaucracy unreformed when he emancipated the serfs. In many provinces, the emancipation is working ill—ruining the landowners without gratifying the serfs—an inevitable result of malignant maladministration. In the capitals, as you are aware, the bureaucracy have actually provoked insurrection, in the Emperor's absence. The old Russian and modern German parties are now at each others' throats. We should scarcely regret this if there was in the country the material for a higher organization. But there is neither constitution nor law (as we understand them)—no genuine aristocracy, to uphold a constitution and sustain the laws—no middle class, to obtain reforms, and elevate the laboring class. There is an imperial family in high altercation—a vicious administration commanding the whole country, and controlling every man in it; and two factions in the capital which have entered into mortal conflict the moment the Emperor's presence was withdrawn. The first overt act of the Russian revolution of this century was the significant and ominous one of closing the Universities—the one hope for the enlightenment of the people. For the next demonstration all Europe is looking anxiously, however weighty may be the cares with which each nation is burdened at home.

Our only serious care is becoming lighter every day. Our supply of cotton is more effective than we had supposed; and the prospects of a sufficient quantity, next year, are improving, with the arrival of every mail from various quarters. There is no evidence that considerations of cotton have affected our political course, more or less; and now the danger will soon be over. There will be some crash among speculators in cotton; but that is quite another matter. Speculators tempt, and must accept, their fate.

H. M.

Our Washington Correspondence.

WASHINGTON, December 2, 1861.

YOUR Western correspondent thinks I must be a *young* anti-slavery man because I gave Salmon P. Chase credit for being a man of integrity. It will be remembered that I said little respecting the anti-slavery character of Mr. Chase, but spoke more particularly of his incorruptible honesty. Anyone who has lived for a series of years in Washington, and witnessed the shameful dishonesty of many of our public men—anti-slavery, I am sorry to say, as well as pro-slavery men (or, at least, men *calling* themselves anti-slavery)—will rejoice when he beholds a public man *who is honest.* We have such *small* men, such knaves, such poltroons, in one way or another connected with the government, that an upright, manly, honorable person wins the respect of all who are not in league with the thieves. You cannot help it. The heart at once prompts the tongue and pen. Now, whatever Mr. Chase's failings may be, he is still a fine, noble man, and is one of the few *anti-slavery* men connected with the government. He may come short of the true ground on this great question, but still he is the *reliable* anti-slavery member of the Cabinet. Perhaps I should add also the name of Welles. He is much more radical than is generally supposed. Cameron is just now with Welles and Chase, so that there are three strong men in the Cabinet in favor of some kind of an emancipation policy. The only man of any brains opposed is Mr. Seward, and it is said that even he is doubtful, inclined to mount the fence on the question. He remarked the other day to a friend, "Let us stop *talking* about slavery and fall to *fighting* the slaveholders. The conflict on the field of battle will soon settle this difficulty." Now, if Mr. Seward *meant* what he said—if it was not one of his diplomatic sayings, it was pretty well said. There is not much doubt that if our army would really go to fighting the rebels, the active conflict would so rouse the passions of men in and from the free States, whether actively engaged or not, that we should no longer hear these sneaking, cowardly pleas for slavery and the slaveholders. Notice that I do not urge "immediate battle," but if fighting can safely be indulged in, the slavery question will soon be settled. Our soldiers will drive slavery from the continent. I mean, of course, if they are not compelled to return fugitive slaves to their masters, and Congress will see to that matter. But to Mr. Chase. All I meant to say—all I did say—was that the Secretary of the Treasury is an honest man, and it is a great thing here in Washington to find *an honest man.* You have them plenty doubtless in New York and "down East," and at the West, but *here* the article is scarce. Mr. Chase is sincere in his anti-slavery professions. He says nothing he does not mean, and he means a great deal. He is a cold, proud man, and not after my *beau ideal* of even a public man in every respect. I do not forget everything in his past history, but in these days it will not do to look too closely into the past. If none but Simon Pure Abolitionists can fight or engineer this war, we have a sorry chance, and Jeff. Davis will easily summer in Boston. For my part, I will praise those men connected with the government who seem to be doing all that their past education permits towards destroying the cause of the rebellion. Give, then, Messrs. Chase, Cameron and Welles their due praise. *They* are fully up to the sentiment of the people, or rather of a majority of the people, and the people need educating, as perhaps only the horrors of war will educate them, to look upon slavery as the chronic cause of rebellion.

Congress meets to-day and we are to have the President's message to-morrow. I will not speculate upon it, as you will have it in print before you go to press. A word about Congress. A large number of the members come here greatly dissatisfied with the position of the government. It would do no good to conceal that fact, as it will sooner or later come out in the debates of Congressmen. The members I allude to are not malcontents, are not vinegar-faced critics, but are most of them cautious men, fair-minded men—men who, if possible, will defend the Administration. But they will not stand up for any Administration that will go out of its way to defend slavery. They will wait and hope as friends of the Administration ask them to do, but if finally it should become apparent that Mr. Lincoln and a majority of his Cabinet are determined to protect the institution of slavery at the hazard of destroying the army, they will have something to say upon the subject on the floor of Congress. There is a fair prospect of an exciting session. Many suppose that the members will soon pass upon the measures presented to them, and will speedily adjourn. But such will not be the case. The members of Congress consider this to be a time when the Administration may need a little wholesome advice from Congress, and if two months hence there should be nothing to do, it is probable that a recess of six weeks or two months will be taken. But the Congress will not entirely relinquish its power and rights into the hands of the Chief Executive. In ordinary times it might be well enough, but not now. The President doubtless would rather the Congress should remain to divide the responsibility with him. There is one difficulty, and that is the well-known fact that Congress can no more carry on a war than newspaper editors can do so. But Congress may with propriety declare what shall be *the object of the war.* It may say to Mr. Lincoln or Gen. McClellan, "Work out the problem as you will—beat the rebels as you may—but understand that there are to be no more compromises with slavery, and that our officers and privates are ac to be employed in catching slaves for their masters, whether they be rebels or not.' The trouble is that, with Congress here, almost every act of the government is severely criticised before the world in the presence of the rebels and of all Europe. This is doubtless an inconvenience, but the simple question is, do not the advantages of a long session counterbalance the disadvantages? After all, much will depend upon the action of the government. If Congress has entire confidence in the present Administration, it will, after a three months' session, adjourn. If it distrusts the Administration, it will probably keep in session well into the next summer, till the spring campaign begins to develope itself, or the war is at an end.

I believe that people here are beginning to look upon a long war as inevitable. One of the most villanous pro-slavery politicians of last winter said to me this day, "The war and slavery will end together. But it will be a long contest, and one that will thoroughly vanquish the South." Men who last July were sanguine that the contest would end by next spring now look forward to another summer campaign. The Southern rebel States are seen to be terribly in earnest. They *hate* the North and the "Lincoln government," and will not lay down their arms at the bidding of some Federal General who promises not to interfere with slavery.

Two or three Western Senators went over our city jail the other day. They found there more than fifty slaves, kept by the government for rebel and loyal masters! Quite a number of the slaves are owned by a notorious brothel-keeper in this city! She owns a farm a little back of Arlington ridge, and, finding that some of her slaves were inclined to take advantage of the presence of the army to run away, she brought them to the city jail, where she pays for their board. Upon these conditions the United States keeps them for her! Yet we grow angry because England will not regard this as an anti-slavery war. This matter will probably be brought up for the action of Congress ere-long.

AVON.

Our Boston Correspondence.

FROM AN OCCASIONAL CORRESPONDENT.

THE SUMMARY.—The Lecturers as Locusts—Whether they may not have more buzz than nutriment—Rifle-shooting and the Christian Evidences—The Lectures of Dr. Ellis commended—A consideration of the Argument of To-day—The political article in *The Atlantic Monthly*—"Philosophical Views" and their practical exposition—A suggestion from several of the Public—What is deferred to another occasion, etc.

BOSTON, Nov. 25, 1861.

IF laws are silent in the midst of arms, it is very certain that lecturers are not. It must be confessed that the Grand Cosmos Machine, which ladies who tipple upon Comte-and-water tell us is grinding on without purpose or author—it must be confessed that this same majestic mill has ground us past the *Unaccustomed-as-I-am-to-public-speaking* period of oratorical development. Behold, we have fairly got to the millennium of lecturers. The thinnest and slightest thought that ever hazed the human cerebrum is intellectual capital enough to invest in an audience. Night after night the Lyceum Minerva undergoes platform parturition for the general diversion, and the itinerant Jupiter need suffer no brain-splitting pang in his mild deliverance.

Yet how rare is it to find a man with any special gift at oral instruction, who has at the same time so vividly realized his subject as to bring it home to others. Tried by these tests, how many of the public talkers have any right to their profession? There are Emerson and Phillips, always worth hearing; Beecher often; but who else? Perhaps you will add a name or two, and then agree with me that this indiscriminate lecture-going is the very ghastliest of all human entertainments. Nevertheless, lectures we have, and without mercy. Mr. Alonzo Tripp is lecturing, so is Dr. Humphreys. The *Excelsior Associates* (does not the name suggest balloonsfull of gas?) have just published their programme to the world. They start, as I observe on the hills, from Dr. Huntington and Dr. Lathrop; whereabouts in the empyrean they are likely to bring up you can calculate as well as I. My own experience of this embarrassment of blessings has been limited to a partial attendance upon two courses, The Use of the Rifle, and The Evidences of Christianity. As opposite as lemon and sugar, are they not? Suppose the watery element to be supplied (of which there is generally little stint), and the result is a sort of moral lemonade; or, if a little spirit be smuggled in, behold an intellectual punch! The Rifle not being quite so much in your line of business as Christianity undoubtedly is, my notice shall only touch upon the latter ingredient.

The Lowell Lectures (though too often given by men who have no sort of gift at spoken instruction) are very much better, even if occasionally heavier, than the isolated spasms of talk to be heard elsewhere. Dr. Ellis on the Evidences has been earnest and interesting. I was perhaps unfortunate in only hearing such lectures as were addressed rather to the scruples of the last century than to the scepticism of to-day. The whole method of proving Christianity has changed, and must change every year. Men are beginning to be aware of the great difficulty of investigating any subject which lies at the base of theology. Those who look into the waste of old controversial sermons and essays will be surprised to find how little idea either good Christians or bad sceptics seem to have had of the *real objections* that might be brought against Christianity. The sham devil that the parson put up to tilt against was but a shallow fool, of very distant kinship to the Mephistophiles of modern times. Mr. Mansel, one of the ablest English "defenders," seems to endorse Hume's dictum, that Religion must rest upon faith, mere reason being unable to prove its truth. The best defensive operations of later writers begin with a frank acknowledgment of the difficulties and objections which sceptics have raised. They then endeavor to show that *greater* difficulties and objections must be encountered by selecting any other form of faith, or no-faith, in preference. Setting forth what may be called the positive evidences for Christianity, they urge that the objections to admitting the objections against it are stronger than the objections themselves. This, so far as we can tell at present, is the *intellectual* appeal by which Christianity will finally triumph. For, it must be admitted that searching criticism, like that of Kant, can deprive all dogmas of objective certainty. But it is no less true that the moral ideas and convictions, which Kant leaves untouched, can so establish the spiritual truths of the Scriptures, and so certify their Divine origin, as amply to atone for any deficiency of proof to the mere understanding. In other words, what speculative reason alone could not oblige us to receive, the spiritual nature of man substantiates by evidence adapted to a higher perception. It would be no service to Christianity to establish all its doctrines by absolute intellectual conviction. The office of Faith is not without its significance in the Christian system—so long, at least, as it is subordinated to Charity, which the Apostle declares to be of so much higher worth. Dr. Ellis may have expanded the argument here hinted at in lectures I was unable to attend; but what I did hear was of a very different character, and seemed hardly consistent with such a purpose. Mr. Waterston soon begins a course upon Art, and its connection with something or other. I forget the precise words of the title. These lectures I purpose to attend, and in due time shall utter myself concerning them.

As I seem to be interpreting our Boston life in its oratorical and literary aspects, I will continue these my services with some remarks upon the current number of *The Atlantic Monthly*. You will regret to see that the political article, advertised as written by Professor Lowell, opposes the well-considered scheme of emancipation advocated by Senator Sumner, and supported by many intelligent men of all political parties. Of course Mr. Sumner has no greater love for "the fiery curse of a servile insurrection" than has any literary professor in the land. He proposes, as all men may know, to prevent probable insurrections by giving freedom as gradually as our armies take possession of the seceded States. He wishes to *use* the immense armed police North and South, the latter armed to the teeth to prevent a mild and unarmed people from anticipating their liberty—the former to subject them to suitable restraint whenever liberty shall be declared. That "the single and simple duty of the government is to put down resistance to its authority," is to most men as incontrovertible a proposition as the *Virtus est bona res* of the copy-book. But since government, being human, must use means to that end, Mr. Sumner only urges means that are alike merciful and effectual. Mr. Lowell directs us for comfort to the urbane gospel of "Economical Causes." This is the latest edition of the "Philosophical Views" whose metaphysics I endeavored to expound to you in a recent letter. Of course there is a great show of many-sidedness and profundity in patronizing the gradual extinction of slavery by the methods in question. It has figured in many sermons and reviews, and is just the thing for ecclesiastical and political purposes. But it is worth while to consider that the "sick man" was supposed to be dying of Economical Causes at the beginning of our national history, quite as speedily as he is alleged to be expiring to-day. And there is no certainty that, by some future event, as utterly unexpected as the invention of the cotton-gin was to our ancestors, the Economical Causes may not work just the wrong way. One would ask nothing worse for many clerical leaders of this faith, than the monopoly of proclaiming their principles to the parties most interested. Suppose the insurgents of South Carolina, through dread of utter destruction, return to a grumbling allegiance to the Union. A group of men and women, many of them white or nearly so, surround one of these economical philosophers, who has just come ashore, and urge, in such language as they have, inquiries to this effect: "The government with which we have sympathized according to our knowledge, and aided according to our opportunity, has been successful—will it not declare justice to all men? Are not the daughters of our people to be delivered from harlotry? Is not God's ordinance of marriage now to be possible to us? Have we now the right to nurture our children, and labor for their comfort?" Imagine the reply: "My friends, I have done my best to prevent my government from giving you the trifling conveniences you mention. But, as a philosophical and Christian philanthropist, I have not come among you empty-handed. Return to your bondage as speedily as possible; but, before you go, accept a copy of my great Thanksgiving sermon. You will there find it proved (unless I happened to be mistaken) that sometime in the latter half of the next century your great-great-grandchildren will be manumitted. Let all who have breath praise the Lord, and ECONOMICAL CAUSES!"

To return to the December *Atlantic*. The articles are decidedly good; all of more equal excellence, if none of such exceptional merit, as during the first year or two of its existence. There is, however, a pervading *magaziny* flavor—a fragrance as of Country Parsons and of Strong Men—which in the beginning was wonderfully kept under. One perceives now and then a faint suggestion of those commercial Abysses and Silences whither American periodicals have hitherto tended. Hearing the criticism of an influential, though small, portion of the public, I venture to suggest a method by which the *The Atlantic* may keep its exceptional readers, while enlarging its general sphere according to the best recipes. Give us every month a few pages of FIRST-RATE literary notices! We all know what the conventional *doer* of books thinks of those issued by his publisher, or written by his neighbor who gives dinners round the corner. And *The Atlantic* has, of late, given us far too much of the commonplaces of publisher-criticism, and friend-criticism, dressed up in a little "fine writing." Take the two last books noticed in the present number—who ever met any intelligent man whose private praise came within hailing distance of that accorded to them? Let us have some genuine notices of works of permanent value; let them be terse, independent and well paid for—such, for instance, as Dr. Hedge could write on what is best of current German authorship. The reputed editor of *The Atlantic* has rendered great services to our national literature, and every cultivated American will feel a personal gratification in the increasing success and reputation which he is well able to achieve.

Apropos of American journalism, I intended to write something about THE STANDARD, and the effort at present making to preserve its important testimony, even to the end. I can speak of your labors from a sufficiently outside position, having never been much more than a Republican till secession changed the position of affairs. Also several new books, which would mix with the general subjects of this letter, are deferred for want of room. What do you think of replacing the old picture-annuals of Christmas with a superb edition of Tennyson's *In Memoriam*, and an admirable selection from Sir Thomas Browne? I shall be glad to accept a copy of either, if you hear of anyone who wishes to make me a present.

**X.

[FROM ANOTHER CORRESPONDENT.]

BOSTON, Dec. 1, 1861.

To the Editor of The National Anti-Slavery Standard.

CAN it be possible, I asked myself while dating this letter, that I am writing the name of that month which is to be immortalized through coming ages by the grandest act of justice which the pages of history can record? Is it too much to hope that we stand upon the threshold of emancipation, and that December, which is to usher out a year crowded with the foulest crimes against Freedom of which Slavery is capable, is also to carry with it slavery itself, leaving four million bondmen, "redeemed, regenerated, disenthralled," to welcome with voices of thanksgiving and praise the entrance of the New Year?

God grant that the Congress which convenes to-morrow may recognize the singular fitness of this time for wielding the thunderbolt, which the war power places in its hand, to break every shackle in the land. Wielded it must be sooner or later, if not by humanity, then as the only means of saving the nation's life. Why wait till virtue becomes an absolute necessity?

Two years ago John Brown "went up to God from a Virginia scaffold." How can the anniversary of his death be so well celebrated as by finishing the work for which he sacrificed his life? In this same month comes the birthday of Jesus of Nazareth, who came "to undo the heavy burdens, break every yoke, and let the oppressed go free." How can we welcome it as Christians? May the Christmas chimes

> "Ring out a slowly dying cause,
> And ancient forms of party strife;
> Ring in the nobler modes of life,
> With sweeter manners, purer laws."

The people are waiting for the only deed which is to end the war. Charles Sumner has touched the popular heart, and finds a cordial response. Last Monday evening, at the invitation of the Fraternity Committee, he repeated his emancipation lecture in Tremont Temple to an immense and enthusiastic audience. The Boston *Journal*, a paper always careful to keep itself on the popular side—trimming its sails in obedience to the public breeze—although it had previously condemned Mr. Sumner severely for his "unwise and fanatical doctrines," published the lecture entire on Tuesday morning, and though still disclaiming its approval, is vastly tempered and respectful in its tone. This is a chip which indicates that the tide is setting strongly emancipationwards.

Beecher's Fraternity lecture on the "Camp and Country" was unworthy of him. I do not mean in point of delivery, force of expression, inimitable humor, or originality, but on account of its exceeding unfairness. It was a labored vindication of the rightfulness of war; an effort to prove that what in our ignorance we have always thought an evil, is in itself a blessed thing. He appealed both to the Old and New Testaments for support, using texts with a recklessness which in anybody but Ward Beecher would be thought not quite honest, so palpably did the lawyer usurp the minister's place, when he tortured figurative passages into literal, and *vice versa*, with the same flippancy with which Choate was accustomed to hood-wink a jury.

But the climax was capped by an attack upon the advocates of Non-resistance, unwarrantable, as its aspersions were untrue. To have heard him without an acquaintance with those at whom his shafts of ridicule and bad logic were directed, one would have imagined the Non-resistants to be an influential portion of the community who were bent upon procuring peace at any terms, and letting Jeff Davis rule over us all.

It is difficult to imagine how Mr. Beecher could have so misrepresented a handful of men—I think he could number them all on his fingers—most of whom he is acquainted with personally and must know to be anything but what he represented. His statement of their character and principles is true, neither in its details nor its completeness. Not one Non-resistant cries out for dishonorable peace; but while Mr. Beecher is using his reputation and position to prolong our bloody struggle, by asserting that the Constitution is of more importance than Freedom (*vide* Thanksgiving sermon), and that Congress ought not to abolish Slavery because it is unconstitutional, these Non-resistants urge the government unceasingly to crush out the rebellion by the most effective means which it is possible to use—immediate emancipation. Jeff Davis has more reason to fear them than he has the brilliant but erratic pastor of Plymouth Church.

It was a pleasant reminder of the Anti-Slavery revolution which this year has brought about, to see, as we came out from Beecher's lecture, a young man, one of the Mercantile Library Committee, distributing notices of a lecture "on the War," to be delivered the next evening at Music Hall, by Wendell Phillips, before the Mercantile Library Association. Last January, precisely upon that same spot, stood the same young man among a crowd of genteel Bell-Everett mobocrats—who had assembled to break up the Anti-Slavery Convention, and assault Mr. Phillips—conspicuous by his bitter words against the Abolitionists. Now he was as earnestly engaged in urging the multitude to pay twenty-five cents for the privilege of hearing the great orator.

And it was a privilege the public by no means neglected, for on Wednesday evening Music Hall was packed with an audience which seemed to think it could not honor Mr. Phillips enough, if one might judge from the welcome reception with which he was greeted. Long-continued and enthusiastic was the applause. The lecture which followed was one of his finest efforts. For an hour and a half we listened, spell-bound, to that eloquence which knows no rival. Unable to resist the logic of his arguments, the beauty of his diction, the grace of his delivery, the audience with no dissenting voice followed him sympathetically to the close, seemingly accepting, as a matter of course, those sentiments, for uttering which he had been mobbed in the same hall, within the year, by many of the same men who listened so approvingly to his words now.

Our contest for the Mayoralty is to be decided December 9th. Mayor Wightman, who deserves Fort Warren more than reëlection, is likely to be again successful. The Republicans have nominated Mr. E. S. Tobey, a worthy citizen and well-known business man. But the chances between Republican indifference and timidity, and unscrupulous Democratic determination, preponderate largely in favor of the latter. I fear we are to be disgraced another year by the most shameless Mayor that Boston ever suffered.

J.

Proceedings of Congress.

THE XXXVIIth Congress convened at the Capitol in Washington on Monday. In the Senate Vice-President Hamlin took the chair, and 37 members answered to their names. The usual committees to inform the House and the President that the Senate was convened having been appointed, Mr. Trumbull, of Illinois (Rep.), gave notice that he would introduce a bill to-morrow to confiscate the property of rebels, and give freedom to persons in slave States.

In the House 114 members were present, Speaker Grow in the chair. A joint resolution tendering thanks to Capt. Wilkes for his arrest of Mason and Slidell was adopted. Several important cases, involving the right of certain gentlemen to seats, were summarily decided. Horace Maynard, "American" member of last Congress, was sworn in as a Representative of the Second District of Tennessee; Blair, of Western Virginia, was also sworn in; while the cases of Segar and Beach, of Virginia, and Foster, of North Carolina, were referred to the Committee on Elections. Blair, of Missouri, also offered a resolution that John W. Reid, of that State, be expelled for active disloyalty. On motion of Mr. Colfax, a resolution was passed that, whereas the rebels have confined Col. Corcoran, a prisoner of war, in the cell of a felon, James M. Mason be similarly confined. Odell, of New York, offered a similar resolution, which was also adopted, offsetting the rebel punishment of Col. Wood by a similar imprisonment of the conspirator, Slidell.

Mr. Eliot, of Massachusetts (Rep.), offered the following:

Resolved, By the House of Representatives of the United States of America:

First—That in behalf of the people of these States, we do again solemnly declare, that the war in which we are now engaged against the insurgent bodies now in arms against the government, has for its object the suppression of such rebellion, and the reëstablishment of the rightful authority of the National Constitution and laws over the entire extent of our common country.

Second—That while we disclaim all power under the Constitution to interfere by ordinary legislation with the institutions of the several States, yet the war now existing must be conducted according to the usages and rights of military service, and that, during its continuance, the recognized authority of the maxim that the safety of the State is the highest law, subordinates right of property, and dominates over civil relations.

Third—That, therefore, we do hereby declare that, in our judgment, the President of the United States, as the Commander-in-Chief of our army, and the officers in command under him have the right to emancipate all persons held as slaves in any Military District in a state of insurrection against the National Government, and that we respectfully advise that such order of emancipation be issued whenever the same will avail to weaken the power of the rebels in arms, or to strengthen the military power of the loyal forces.

Mr. Dunn, of Indiana (Rep.), moved to lay the resolution on the table; but the motion was disagreed to, by yeas 56, nays 70.

The question recurring on Mr. Eliot's resolution, Mr. Roscoe A. Conkling proposed an amendment, which Mr. Eliot accepted, so as to make the resolution apply to the slaves of disloyal citizens.

On motion of Mr. Stevens, the further consideration of the resolution was postponed until Dec. 12th, in order that it may be discussed and amendments submitted. He was in favor of the main features of the proposition, but desired modification.

Mr. Campbell, of Pennsylvania (Rep.), gave notice that he would call up the following, on the next Tuesday week:

Resolved, That in legislating to meet the exigencies of the present rebellion, Congress should confiscate the property, slaves included, of all rebels, and protect the property and rights, under the Constitution and laws, of all loyal citizens.

Mr. Stevens, of Pennsylvania (Rep.), submitted the following for future consideration:

Whereas, Slavery has caused the present rebellion in the United States; and whereas, there can be no solid and permanent peace and union in this Republic so long as that institution exists within it; and whereas, slaves are now used by the rebels as an essential means of supporting and protracting the war; and whereas, by the law of nations, it is right to liberate the slaves of an enemy to weaken his power—

Therefore, be it enacted, by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States, in Congress assembled, That the President be requested to declare free, and to direct all our Generals and officers in command to order freedom to all slaves who shall leave their masters, or shall aid in quelling the rebellion.

Second—And be it further Resolved, That the United States pledge the faith of the nation to make full and fair compensation to all loyal citizens who are, or shall remain, active in supporting the Union, for all loss they may sustain by virtue of this resolution.

On Tuesday the President's Message was received in both Houses. In the House of Representatives it was referred to the Committee of the Whole. The House expelled Mr. Burnett, a rebel member from Kentucky.

WASHINGTON, Dec. 4, 1861.

Senator Saulsbury, of Delaware, made a curious proposition in the Senate this morning, to the effect that a Commission should be appointed by Congress, to meet a similar Commission from the rebellious States, for the purpose of agreeing upon a plan for the restoration of the Union and a cessation of hostilities. Mr. Saulsbury gravely named Edward Everett, Senator Pugh, George M. Dallas, Chief Justice Taney and others as the Commissioners on the part of the government. He seemed to think that he had done a very good thing, but the Senate received his proposal with shouts of laughter and laid it aside very summarily.

Senator Wilson, of Massachusetts, has just introduced a bill providing for the punishment of all officers or privates of the army who shall return fugitive slaves to rebel masters.

Senator Sumner made some severe comments in the Senate this morning upon Gen. Halleck's recent order forbidding slaves to enter the lines of the Western army. Mr. Sumner censured the course of Halleck as a mistaken and mischievous policy.

The Senate, by a unanimous vote, expelled "the traitor" John C. Breckinridge.

Mr. Wilson called attention to a list of colored persons confined in prison in Washington, sent there by persons calling themselves Justices of the Peace. The report had been made by Detective Allen to the Provost-marshal. Mr. Wilson introduced a resolution for their release. After remarks by Messrs. Hale, McDougall, Fessenden and Sumner, the resolution was referred to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

On motion of Mr. Wilson, it was resolved that the laws now in force within the District of Columbia, relating to the arrest of fugitives from service or labor, together with all other laws concerning persons of color within the District of Columbia, be referred to the Committee on the District of Columbia, and that the Committee be further instructed to consider the expediency of abolishing slavery in the District, with compensation to the loyal holders of slaves.

In the House, Mr. Gurley (Rep., O.) gave notice of his intention to introduce a bill to confiscate all property belonging to persons in rebellion against the government of the United States, including persons recognized as slaves, who shall be made free men; to provide for their employment during the present war, their subsequent apprenticeship to loyal masters, and their final colonization.

Mr. Hutchins (Rep., O.) introduced the following resolution, which was adopted:

Whereas, It has been represented that there are confined in the government jail forty-five persons who are not charged with crime, but are represented as being slaves, the Committee for the District of Columbia be instructed to inquire into the truth of said report and by what authority they are confined, who are the reputed owners, and what legislation, if any, is necessary to relieve them from imprisonment and prevent persons from being similarly imprisoned hereafter, and to report by bill or otherwise.

Mr. Holman (Opp., Ind.) moved to "solemnly reaffirm" the "Crittenden resolution," so called, adopted at the last session, but the proposition was laid on the table, 71 to 65.

Mr. Hutchins, (Rep., O.) asked leave to introduce a bill to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia.

Mr. Cox (Opp., O.) objected.

THE PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE.

As our readers will receive the President's Message through other channels, we give below only those portions of it which relate, more or less directly, to Slavery and the policy of the Administration in respect thereto.

Hayti and Liberia.

If any good reason exists why we should persevere longer in withholding our recognition of the independence and sovereignty of Hayti and Liberia, I am unable to discern it. Unwilling, however, to inaugurate a novel policy in regard to them without the approbation of Congress, I submit for your consideration the expediency of an appropriation for maintaining a Chargé d'Affaires near each of these new States. It does not admit of doubt that important commercial advantages might be secured by favorable treaties with them.

The Supreme Court.

There are three vacancies on the Bench of the Supreme Court, two by the decease of Justices Daniel and McLean, and one by the resignation of Justice Campbell. I have so far forborne making nominations to fill the vacancies for reasons which I will now state. Two of the outgoing Judges resided within the States now overrun by revolt, so that if successors were appointed in the same localities they could not now serve upon their circuits, and many of the most competent men there probably would not take the personal hazard of accepting to serve even here upon the Supreme Bench.

I have been unwilling to throw all the appointments Northward, thus disabling myself from doing justice to the South on the return of peace, although I may remark that to transfer to the North one which has heretofore been in the South, would not, with reference to territory and population, be unjust. During the long and brilliant judicial career of Judge McLean, his circuit grew into an empire altogether too large for any one Judge to give the Courts therein more than a nominal attendance, rising in population from 1,470,018 in 1830, to 6,151,405 in 1860. Beside this, the country generally has outgrown our present judicial system.

If uniformity was at all intended, the system requires that all the States shall be accommodated with Circuit Courts attended by Supreme Judges; while in fact Wisconsin, Minnesota, Iowa, Kansas, Florida, Texas, California, and Oregon, have never had any such Courts.

Nor can this well be remedied without a change of the system, because the adding of Judges to the Supreme Court enough for the accommodation of all parts of the country, with Circuit Courts, would create a Court altogether too numerous for a Judicial body of any sort, and the evil of it be one that will increase as new States come into the Union.

Circuit Courts are useful or they are not useful. If useful, no State should be denied them. If not useful, no State should have them. Let them be provided for all, or abolished as to all.

Collection of Debts at the South.

One of the unavoidable consequences of the present insurrection is the entire suppression in many places of all ordinary means of administering civil justice by the officers and in the forms of existing law. This is the case in whole or in part in all the insurgent States, and as our armies advance upon and take possession of parts of those States, the practical evil becomes more apparent. There are no courts nor officers to whom the citizens of other States may apply for the enforcement of their lawful claims against citizens of the insurgent States, and there is a vast amount of debt constituting such claims. Some have estimated it as high as $200,000,000, due in large part from insurgents, in open rebellion, to loyal citizens who are even now making great sacrifices in the discharge of their patriotic duty to support the government. Under these circumstances I have been urgently solicited to establish by military power courts to administer summary justice in such cases. I have thus far declined to do it, not because I had any doubt that the end proposed, the collection of the debts, was just and right in itself, but because I have been unwilling to go beyond the pressure of necessity in the unusual exercise of power. But the powers of Congress, I suppose, are equal to the anomalous occasion; and therefore I refer the whole matter to Congress, with the hope that a plan may be devised for the administration of justice in all such parts of the insurgent States and Territories as may be under the control of this government, whether by a voluntary return to allegiance and order, or by the power of our arms; this, however, not to be a permanent institution but a temporary substitute, and to cease as soon as the ordinary courts can be reëstablished in peace.

The African Slave Trade.

The execution of the laws for the suppression of the African slave trade has been confided to the Department of the Interior. It is a subject of congratulation that the efforts which have been made for the suppression of this inhuman traffic have been recently attended with unusual success. Five vessels being fitted out for the slave trade have been seized and condemned. Two mates engaged in the trade and one person in equipping a vessel as a slaver have been convicted, and subjected to the penalty of fine and imprisonment, and one captain taken with a cargo of Africans on board his vessel has been convicted of the highest grade of offense under our laws, the punishment of which is death.

Disposal of the Contrabands—Colonization.

Under and by virtue of the act of Congress, entitled an act to confiscate property used for insurrectionary purposes, approved August 6, 1861, the legal claims of certain persons to the labor and services of certain other persons have become forfeited; and numbers of the latter, thus liberated, are already dependent on the United States, and must be provided for in some way. Beside this, it is not impossible that some of the States will pass similar enactments for their own benefit respectively, and by the operation of which persons of the same class will be thrown upon them for disposal. In such case, I recommend that Congress provide for accepting such persons from such States, according to some mode of valuation in *lieu probanto* of direct taxes, or upon some other plan to be agreed upon with such States respectively that such persons, on such acceptance by the General government, be at once deemed free, and that in any event steps be taken for colonizing both classes, or the one first mentioned if the other shall not be brought into existence, at some place or places in a climate congenial to them. It might be well to consider, too, whether the free colored people in the United States could not, so far as individuals may desire, be included in such colonization. To carry out the plan of colonization may involve the acquiring of territory, and also the appropriation of money beyond that to be expended in the territorial acquisition. Having practiced the acquisition of territory for nearly sixty years, the question of constitutional power to do so is no longer an open one with us. The power was at first questioned by Mr. Jefferson, who, however, in the purchase of Louisiana, yielded his scruples on the plea of great expediency. If it be said that the only legitimate object of acquiring territory is to furnish homes for white men, this measure effects that object, for the emigration of colored men leaves additional room for white men remaining or coming here. Mr. Jefferson, however, placed the importance of procuring Louisiana more on political and commercial ground, than on providing room for population. On this whole proposition, including the appropriation of money with the acquisition of territory, does not the expediency amount to absolute necessity—that without which the government cannot be perpetuated if the war continues.

War Policy of the Administration.

In considering the policy to be adopted for suppressing the insurrection, I have been anxious and careful that the inevitable conflict for this purpose shall not degenerate into a violent and remorseless revolutionary struggle. I have, therefore, in every case, thought it proper to keep the integrity of the Union prominent as the primary object of the contest on our part, leaving all questions which are not of vital military importance to the more deliberate action of the Legislature. In the exercise of my best discretion I have adhered to the blockade of the ports held by the insurgents instead of putting in force by proclamation the law of Congress enacted, at the late session, for closing those ports. So also, obeying the dictates of prudence as well as the obligations of law, instead of transcending, I have adhered to the act of Congress to confiscate property used for insurrectionary purposes. If a new law upon the same subject shall be proposed, its propriety will be duly considered. *The Union must be preserved*, and hence all indispensable means must be employed. We should not be in haste to determine that radical and extreme measures, which may reach the loyal as well as the disloyal, are indispensable.

The Inaugural Address at the beginning of the Administration and the Message to Congress at the late special session, were both mainly devoted to the domestic controversy out of which the insurrection and consequent war have sprung. Nothing now occurs to add to or subtract from the principles or general purposes stated and expressed in those documents. The last ray of hope for preserving the Union peaceably expired at the assault upon Fort Sumter, and a general review of what has occurred since may not be unprofitable. What was painfully uncertain then is much better defined and more distinct now, and the progress of events is plainly in the right direction. The insurgents confidently claimed a strong support from north of Mason and Dixon's line, and the friends of the Union were not free from apprehension on the point. This, however, was soon settled definitely, and on the right side. South of the line, noble little Delaware led off right from the first. Maryland was made to seem against the Union; our soldiers were assaulted, bridges were burned, and railroads torn up within her limits, and we were many days at one time without the ability to bring a single regiment over her soil to the Capital. Now, her bridges and railroads are repaired and open to the government. She already gives seven regiments to the cause of the Union and none to the enemy, and her people, at a regular election, have sustained the Union by a larger majority and a larger aggregate vote than they ever before gave to any candidate on any question. Kentucky, too, for some time in doubt, is now decidedly, and I think unchangeably, ranged on the side of the Union. Missouri is comparatively quiet, and I believe cannot again be overrun by the insurrectionists. These three States of Maryland, Kentucky, and Missouri, neither of which would promise a single soldier at first, have now an aggregate of not less than 40,000 in the field for the Union; while of their citizens, certainly not more than a third of that number, and they of doubtful whereabouts and doubtful existence, are in arms against it. After a somewhat bloody struggle of months, winter closes on the Union people of Western Virginia, leaving them masters of their own country.

Capital and Labor.

It is not needed nor fitting here that a general argument should be made in favor of popular institutions; but there is one point with its connections not so hackneyed as most others, to which I ask a brief attention. It is the effort to place capital on an equal footing with, if not above, labor in the structure of government. It is assumed that labor is available only in connection with capital, that nobody labors unless somebody else owning capital somehow by the use of it induces him to labor. This assumed, it is next considered whether it is best that capital shall hire laborers, and thus induce them to work by their own consent, or buy them and drive them to it without their consent. Having proceeded so far, it is naturally concluded that all laborers are either hired laborers or what we call slaves; and further it is assumed that whoever is once a hired laborer is fixed in that condition for life. Now there is no such relation between capital and labor as is assumed, nor is there any such thing as a free man being fixed for life in the condition of a hired laborer. Both of these assumptions are false, and all inferences from them are groundless. Labor is prior to and independent of capital. Capital is only the fruit of labor, and could never have existed if labor had not first existed. Labor is the superior of capital, and deserves much the higher consideration. Capital has its rights, which are as worthy of protection as any other rights. Nor is it denied that there is, and probably always will be, a relation between labor and capital, producing mutual benefits. The error is in assuming that the whole labor of the community exists within that relation. A few men own capital, and that few avoid labor themselves, and with their capital hire or buy another few to labor for them. A large majority belong to neither class—neither work for others, nor have others working for them. In most of the Southern States, a majority of the whole people of all colors are neither slaves nor masters, while in the Northern a large majority are neither hirers nor hired. Men with their families—wives, sons, and daughters—work for themselves on their farms, in their houses, and in their shops, taking the whole product to themselves, and asking no favors of capital, on the one hand, nor of hired laborers or slaves, on the other. It is not forgotten that a considerable number of persons mingle their own labor with capital—that is, they labor with their own hands, and also buy or hire others to labor for them; but this is only a mixed and not a distinct class. No principle stated is distinguished by the existence of this mixed class.

Again, as has already been said, there is not of necessity any such thing as the free hired laborer being fixed in that condition for life. Many independent men everywhere in these States a few years back in their lives were hired laborers. The prudent, penniless beginner in the world labors for wages awhile, saves a surplus with which to buy tools and land for himself, then labors on his own account another while, and at length hires another new beginner to help him. This is the just and generous and prosperous system which opens the way to all, gives hope to all, and consequent energy and progress in the improvement of their condition to all. No men living are more worthy to be trusted than those who toil up from poverty; none less inclined to take or touch aught which they have not honestly earned. Let them beware of surrendering a political power which they already possess, and which, if surrendered, will surely be used to close the door of advancement against such as they, and to fix new disabilities and burdens upon them till all of liberty shall be lost.

The Message, as a whole, is flat and spiritless, evincing an amazing insensibility to the crisis in which the country is placed. From beginning to end, there is not a word to stir the hearts or kindle the enthusiasm of the people. But while it fails to commend the right policy in respect to slavery, we may at least be thankful that it leaves the way open for the adoption of such a policy hereafter. The President is not beyond the reach of public opinion.

WENDELL PHILLIPS, it affords us pleasure to be able to say, will shortly deliver a lecture in this city on "The War." We shall announce the time and place next week.

NEW PUBLICATIONS.

THE LIFE AND LETTERS OF CAPTAIN JOHN BROWN, who was executed at Charlestown, Virginia, Dec. 2nd, 1859, for an armed attack upon American Slavery; with notices of some of his confederates. Edited by RICHARD D. WEBB. London: Smith, Elder & Co., 65 Cornhill, 1861.

THIS book is a graphic portrait of John Brown, from his early boyhood to the hour when his sublime death revealed to the world the one great purpose of his sublimer life. The simplicity of the narrative gives it not only a charm, but a power which profusion of epithets could not impart; and the rare combination of impartial accuracy of statement with evident deep human sympathy with the martyr-hero renders it invaluable as a biography of a man whose history, henceforward, must be indissolubly linked with the decline and fall of American Slavery. It clearly exhibits the deep religious principle early implanted in his soul, and which, as it governed his whole life, alone can interpret it; and it shows that the last scenes of that eventful life were not sudden and insulated acts, but the growth and culmination of all the years which preceded them. In the narration of his adventures in Kansas, the anarchy and barbarism which reigned in that Territory, the stern trials endured by the Free State settlers there, and the unrestrained cruelty of the Border Ruffians, are portrayed as well as language *can* portray such atrocities, and sufficiently so to refute the charges of lawlessness and bloodthirstiness which have been preferred against John Brown and his coadjutors in that contest.

The story of the last few months of his life, which occupies the larger part of the book, is so simply and graphically told, that the reader imagines himself an eye and ear-witness of those thrilling scenes. It is, in part, collected from those documents which have been presented to the public in various newspapers, and which so mightily moved the American heart. Among them is that memorable conversation, in the prison, between John Brown and Messrs. Mason and Vallandigham; his address to the court, in reply to the question why sentence of death should not be pronounced on him; and those letters, the inspiration of which was so inexplicable to his captors, which he wrote from his prison to his wife and children and friends.

The account of Mrs. Brown's sojourn in Philadelphia, while she awaited the summons to visit her husband for the last time, and of her journey to Harper's Ferry, is given in the language of Mr. McKim, who accompanied her thither. Of the funeral at North Elba the biographer wisely forbears to say much, leaving it to those whose privilege it was to be present there (Wendell Phillips, J. M. McKim, and Rev. Mr. Young) to speak in these pages.

And not alone to John Brown is this book a tribute of honor. The deeds, the sufferings, and the martyrdom, of his coadjutors, Copeland, Green, Cook, Hazlitt, Stevens and Coppock, are recorded here, linked with the great name which will bear their names, in the history of their country, to a grateful posterity.

The friends of freedom, in this country and in Great Britain, who have wished for a faithful picture of John Brown's life and death, will find it here. To say that it is an intensely interesting book, is to speak inadequately of it; the most that can be said of *such* a book, is that it is worthy of its great topic; and of "The Life and Letters of John Brown" this may be truly said.

M. G.

THE TWENTY-EIGHTH

NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY SUBSCRIPTION ANNIVERSARY.

THE time for the ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTION ANNIVERSARY again draws nigh, and we look forward to it with pleasure, as the means of meeting familiar, friendly faces, and listening to earnest words of counsel and encouragement.

All those who have faith in the principles of freedom, all who believe that the effect of righteousness would be peace and security for our unhappy country, are cordially and earnestly invited to meet us at the usual time and place in Boston, in January next. [Particulars hereafter.]

Contributions, and expressions of sympathy, from friends at home or abroad, in person or by letter, will be most thankfully received; for we have great need of both at this most momentous and trying crisis.

L. Maria Child,	Caroline M. Severance,
Mary May,	Mary Willey,
Louisa Loring,	Ann Rebecca Bramhall,
Henrietta Sargent,	Sarah P. Remond,
Sarah Russell May,	Mary E. Stearns,
Helen Eliza Garrison,	Sarah J. Nowell,
Anna Shaw Greene,	Elizabeth Von Arnim,
Sarah Blake Shaw,	Anne Langdon Alger,
Elizabeth Gay,	Eliza Apthorp,
Caroline Thayer,	Sarah Cowing,
Abby Kelley Foster,	Sarah H. Southwick,
Lydia D. Parker,	Mary Elizabeth Sargent,
Augusta G. King,	Sarah C. Atkinson,
Mattie Griffith,	Abby Francis,
Mary Jackson,	Mary Jane Parkman,
Evelina A. Smith,	Georgiana Otis,

Abby H. Stephenson.

MR. CHANNING IN WASHINGTON.—A correspondent informs us that "the Installation services of Rev. W. H. CHANNING, as Pastor of the Unitarian Church in Washington, will take place on Sunday, Dec. 8th. His sermons thus far, in Washington, have been of unusual power, and especially applicable to the present crisis. In one of his discourses he very happily alluded to three great forces operating in this country, represented by RALPH WALDO EMERSON, HENRY WARD BEECHER, and ORESTES A. BROWNSON. His brief delineations of the characters of these eminent men were as beautiful as they were just and appreciative."

NOTICE.—Members of the American Anti-Slavery Society entitled to receive the Annual Report just published will have their copies forwarded by mail upon their remitting the amount of postage (in stamps or otherwise), viz.: *fourteen cents*, to ROBERT F. WALLCUT, 221 Washington Street, Boston.

THE TWENTY-SIXTH

Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Fair and National Bazaar.

THIS Fair will be opened in the Assembly Building, corner of Tenth and Chestnut streets, on TUESDAY EVENING, Dec. 17th, at 6 o'clock, and continue open, day and evening, till Friday inclusive. As a few days only remain for preparation, the Managers wish to remind their coadjutors of the importance of being energetic and prompt in collecting and forwarding contributions from their respective neighborhoods. Evergreens, for ornamenting the Hall, are especially wanted, and their value will be increased if they are wrought into wreaths. But in any form they will be very acceptable. Produce of the farm and garden, where donations can be more conveniently made thus than in the form of money, will be gladly received and can be profitably disposed of.

The presence of our friends from the country, at the Fair, is especially desired. Not merely that they may take their usual share in the labors incident to the occasion, but for the sake of the opportunity of fraternal consultation respecting the new aspects of our cause, and our future duties as Abolitionists. The Fair which *may* be the last preceding the grand consummation of our work should bring together a large representation of the friends of the slave in Pennsylvania.

M. G.

AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

Receipts for the Standard from Nov. 1st to Dec. 1st, 1861.

1168	J. H. Buffum, Portland, Me.		$2 00
1136	E. Haskell, Foxcroft, "		1 00
1172	Thos. D. Howard, Perry,"		2 00
1144	E. B. Whitman, Henniker,	N. H.	1 00
1144	Nathan Sawyer, "	"	1 00
1144	Amos. Kimball, W. Henniker,	"	1 00
1144	Jona Buxton, S. Weare,	"	1 00
1144	Ira Wilkins, N. Weare,	"	1 00
1144	Moses Sawyer, "	"	1 00
1134	Margaret B. Hatch, Portsmouth,"		5 00
1144	A. J. Lynch, Milford,	"	1 00
1148	Enoch Hebard, W. Randolph, Vt.		4 00
1160	Josiah Divoll, Topsham,	"	2 00
1118	Miss Mary T. Tidmarsh, Hingham,	Mass.	3 73
1168	L. Page, Lowell,	"	2 00
1145	James A. Smalley, E. Dennis,	"	4 00
1170	Mrs. Augustus Clapp, Weymouth,	"	2 00
1170	Mrs. Marcia E. P. Hunt, "	"	2 00
1118	Wm. D. Prouty, Worcester,	"	1 00
1157	F. H. Snow. Williamstown,	"	2 00
1124	Samuel W. Richards, Boston,	"	1 00
1144	Rev. Samuel Johnson, Salem,	"	4 00
807	Samuel L. Young, Marblehead,	"	3 00
1172	Mrs. F. K. Farnum, Blackstone,	"	2 00
1156	Charles Bass, Westminster, Conn.		2 00
1171	Thos. Davis, Providence, R. I.		5 00
1156	C. G. Benedict, Brooklyn, L. I.		2 00
1156	C. G. Benedict, N. Y. City,	N. Y.	2 00
1108	Wm. McNab, "	"	2 00
1144	Dr. E. D. Hudson, "	"	2 00
1168	Mrs. R. P. Penfield, "	"	2 00
1141	Samuel W. Hallock, Stanfordville,	"	1 00
1144	Louisa Cone, Champion,	"	1 00
1144	John Burt, Bellvale,	"	1 00
1144	W. Howland, Sherwoods,	"	1 00
1144	A. Raymond, Plattekill,	"	2 00
1146	E. Francelia Ufford, N. Pitcher,	"	1 00
1120	J. Wheeler, Frewsburgh,	"	5 00
1120	Miss Mary A. Smart, Pokeepsie,	"	1 08
1166	Wm. Marsh, S. Barre,	"	2 00
1179	W. R. Hallowell, Rochester,	"	4 00
1130	Laura Darbee. W. Falls,	"	1 00
1146	Job Wilbur, Easton,	"	2 00
1146	John Moxfield, Boonton, N. J.		2 00
1167	J. H. Hirst, Mercer,	Pa.	2 00
1167	Albert Herriott, Clarksville,	"	2 00
1169	Rev. Mr. Cracroft, Phila.	"	2 00
	Wm. C. Gildersleeve, Wilkesbarre,	"	2 00
1170	Samuel M. Carragher, "	"	2 00
	Agnes Kemp, Hollidaysburg,	"	3 00
	Robert Potts, Pottstown,	"	6 50
1174	John McClay, Upper Buffalo,	"	2 00
1144	J. R. Reeve, Rome,	Ohio	1 00
1170	Jacob Millisac, Leesville,	"	2 00
1130	Mrs. B. C. Lyman, Parkman,	"	2 00
1170	Cor. Sherman, Brunswick,	"	2 00
1170	J. R. Haines, Alliance,	"	2 00
1170	Simon Huffer, Mt. Union,	"	2 00
1170	Solomon Lilly, "	"	2 00
1171	Sarah T. Cope, Short Creek,	"	2 00
1171	O. G. Cope, "	"	2 00
1144	E. O. Strong, N. Benton,	"	1 00
1144	Andrew J. Long, Montpelier,	"	1 00
1179	George Riker, New Phila.	"	2 00
1141	Rev. T. J. Munford, Marietta,	"	5 00
1167	Geo. Gordon, Iberia,	"	2 00
1141	James Smith, Lowellville,	"	1 00
1170	J. W. Fulton, Deerfield,	"	2 00
1154	Wm. Penn, "	"	1 00
1180	Ann Clark, "	"	2 00
1172	James Doud, Atwater,	"	2 00
1181	Gurdon Purdy, "	"	2 00
1168	Rev. E. C. Sharp, "	"	2 00
1193	Robert Williams, Hannibal,	"	3 00
1167	Joshua Cope, Belmont,	"	2 00
1167	R. H. Rogers, Castalia,	"	2 00
1157	T. R. Davis, Sandusky,	"	1 50
1157	J. S. Cowdery, "	"	1 50
1172	Samuel Steward, Lexington,	"	2 00
	Benj. Gass, Lexington,	"	2 00
1123	O. Jenness, Flowerville, Ind.		1 00
1158	Joel H. Davis, Kewana, "		1 00
1144	L. D. Pellett, Etna Green, "		1 00
1170	A. H. Buckman, " "		2 00
1172	Mrs. H. F. M. Brown, Waukegan, Ill.		2 00
1141	Wm. Manaham, Sterling,	"	1 00
1170	Amanda Durfee, Baltimore, Mich.		2 00
1135	Wm. E. Kelley, Sturgis,	"	3 00
1144	J. S. Hollinshead, Elkhorn, Wis.		6 00
1165	Geo. Miller, Trenton, Iowa,		2 00
1170	Jos. Knapp, Palestine, "		2 00
1131	Miss Harriet B. Cushing, San Francisco, Cal.		50

DONATIONS TO THE ALBANY ANTI-SLAVERY OFFICE.

Gerrit Smith	$5 00
Leonard Gibbs	5 00
Pliny Sexton	1 00
Zenus Brocket	1 00
Mary Doty	50
Edmund Willetts	50
Total	$13 00

LYDIA MOTT, Agent.

Special Notices.

AARON M. POWELL, Agent of the American Anti-Slavery Society, will lecture at

CANAAN, Sunday, Dec. 8.
RONDOUT, Ulster Co., New York, Tuesday, Dec. 10.
ELLENVILLE, Ulster Co., N. Y., Thursday, Dec. 12.
GREENFIELD, Ulster Co., N. Y., Friday, Dec. 13.
ELLENVILLE, Ulster Co., N. Y., Sunday, Dec. 15.
HOMOWACK, Ulster Co., N. Y., Monday, Dec. 16.

PHILADELPHIA FAIR CIRCLE.—This Circle will hold its *last meeting, previous to the Fair*, on Wednesday evening, Dec. 11th, at the house of Mrs. Margaret A. Griscom, No. 1,028 Arch street.

A stated meeting of the Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society will be held on Fifth day afternoon, the 12th inst., at 3½ o'clock, at Concord Hall.

Advertisements.

EDWARD GILBERT,
COUNSELLOR AT LAW,
NO. 60 WALL STREET,
NEW YORK.

NEW MUSIC.—The Song of the "Contrabands"—"O Let My People Go"—as sung by them at Fortress Monroe. Words and Music through Rev. L. C. Lockwood, Chaplain. Arranged for the Piano by Thomas Baker. Price 25 cents, mailed free. This Song will be popular. Published by HORACE WATERS, 481 Broadway, New York.

THE LIFE AND LETTERS OF CAPTAIN JOHN BROWN; with Notices of his Companions in the Attack upon Harper's Ferry. Edited by RICHARD D. WEBB. This very admirable Life of John Brown, recently published in London, and carefully prepared by one of the most able anti slavery men in Great Britain, is now for sale at the Anti Slavery Offices in New York, Philadelphia and Boston. The greater part of the edition is already sold in England. Price, One Dollar.

THE GUILT OF SLAVERY AND THE CRIME OF SLAVEHOLDING, Demonstrated from the Greek and Hebrew Scriptures. By Rev. George B. Cheever, D.D., Pastor of the Church of the Puritans.
For sale at the Office of The Standard, No. 5 Beekman street, New York. Price $1. Postage 23 cents.

THE ANTI-SLAVERY HISTORY OF THE JOHN BROWN YEAR; being the Twenty seventh Annual Report of the American Anti Slavery Society—is published and for sale at the Anti Slavery Office, 221 Washington street, Boston; 106 North Tenth street, Philadelphia; and 5 Beekman street, New York. Price 50 cents.

Miscellaneous Department.

[illegible]

STILL FORWARD AND STILL FORWARD.

Inscribed [illegible] of Harlem, N. Y.

STILL FORWARD AND STILL FORWARD! and so the work goes on:
The cl[illegible] Emancipation's sun
Is rising [illegible] the bondman's wail,
We'll [illegible] must be done.

STILL FORWARD AND STILL FORWARD! and so the wheel goes round;
That [illegible] all in bondage found;
It echoes [illegible] Carolina's ground,
And [illegible] drowned.

STILL FORWARD AND STILL FORWARD! see how the clouds disperse;
The [illegible] nation's curse,
And from the [illegible] Emancipation [illegible],
With "healing [illegible]" upon its [illegible] wings.

STILL FORWARD AND STILL FORWARD! Ye faithful ones and few,
Who wait [illegible], how is it now with you?
Beats not [illegible] thrills not the heart with pride,
Now that the [illegible] come with the morning tide?

STILL FORWARD AND STILL FORWARD! the tide shall ebb no more.
It flows now [illegible] reaches freedom's shore;
It carries o[illegible] ships whose white sails show
The Banner of Deliverance wherever they may go.

STILL FORWARD, AND STILL FORWARD! Until the work begun
In doubting, fearing, trembling, becomes the good work done;
Join hands and hearts together, till slavery's temple falls,
And give the slave his freedom about its crumbling walls.

Harlem, N. Y., Nov. 27th, 1861. WILLIAM E. PABOR.

IN MEMORIAM.

I HAVE just heard of the death of our dear and honored friend, FRANCIS JACKSON. It was not unexpected, for his physical strength had long been failing. The vital forces rallied wonderfully, from time to time, a constitution naturally strong being aided by the temperate habits of his life; but the friends who saw him often have felt, for months past, that he would not much longer remain visibly present among them. Yet, though the thought of separation had long been familiar, the tidings oppressed me with a sense of bereavement.

Thirty years ago, I realized that I was bound to the early, uncompromising Abolitionists in bonds stronger than any mere natural ties; and looking round upon what still remains of that noble and faithful band, I say in my soul, "Behold my brethren! for whosoever shall do the will of my Father which is in heaven, the same is my brother, and sister, and mother." I said, what *remains* of the noble band. Alas! though I believe the departed are still working with us, I cannot feel otherwise than sad to see how rapidly the tried and true are falling around me. There is something of melancholy in the reaping of grain, though we know full well that there is within the gathered sheaves the germs of future life and harvests yet to come.

As the evening shadows lengthen on our earthly pilgrimage, separations become more and more frequent. Every circling of the seasons, within the last ten years, has left vacant the places of some whom I reverenced for the love and truth made manifest in their lives. All of us in Boston cherish the memory of dear CATHERINE SARGENT, whose unpretending goodness concealed itself in "life's shadiest coverts." Every Saturday, some poor widow in her neighborhood received a joint of meat for a comfortable Sunday's dinner; her fingers were always busy making garments for poor invalids; her purse was always ready to help the fugitive slave, or to sustain those who were pleading for him. Almost her last words were directions concerning garments for the poor, which failing strength compelled her to leave unfinished. But the world knew nothing of all this. It was imperfectly known even to the few friends whom she cherished with unwearied kindness; for her spirit was at home in the valley of humility. She would have disclaimed, most sincerely, any power of penetration, yet few detected shams so easily, and "what within was good and true, she saw it with her heart." Her natural relations with the world brought her into frequent communication with the conservative and the worldly-wise; but her honest [illegible] the presence of [illegible], whatsoever g[illegible] [illegible] and no fog of soph[illegible] [illegible] plain, simple truths. [illegible] aged countenance became [illegible] with a heavenly expression. I, who knew her intimately, did not wonder at this reflection of angelic radiance.

Then ELLIS GRAY LORING, in the ripeness of his years, with stores of intellectual acquisition garnered up for noble and beneficent uses, passed suddenly away from us. For more than a quarter of a century, he was always true to the cause of the slave, which he aided by wise counsels and liberal donations. His private relations were the *beau ideal* of love and friendship. He was always sincere, reliable, forgiving and affectionate. The bond between him and Francis Jackson was very strong. Their intellectual paths diverged widely, but each loved and honored perfect uprightness and truth in the other.

Next, the large-hearted, open-handed CHARLES F. HOVEY departed from us. He had no faith in much that is believed by the theological world, but he was always striving to obey those great principles of truth, justice and humanity, which constitute the essence of Deity. He took fatherly interest in the great number of people he employed. If a poor seamstress was absent from her accustomed seat on account of illness, he personally administered to her comfort, and ordered her wages to be continued till she was able to return to her work. He thoroughly believed in the brotherhood of mankind. Nothing pleased him more than to have his domestics at the same table with him. Had Christianity been as it was in the days of the twelve fishermen, he would undoubtedly have been a member of the community. As it was, he judged ecclesiastical shams somewhat severely, while he worshipped God in the form of love to his neighbor, and especially recognized as such those who had "fallen among thieves." In his reverence for principles, he was more religious than he knew of.

Then the mighty spirit of THEODORE PARKER dropped the earthly garment, which perpetual energetic use had worn out before its time. He wielded the hammer of Thor in our moral battle, while his great heart was filled with love for every little child.

Then was parted from our side that loved and beloved companion, ELIZA LEE FOLLEN. At the very outset of our great struggle with despotism, she stood bravely by the side of her noble husband, and both laid unreservedly upon the altar of our unpopular cause all their uncommon powers of mind, all the sympathies of their great warm hearts. Allied by birth to wealth and conservatism, she kept alive her natural affections, without losing a ray of her spiritual life. To her latest hour, she remained steadfast and earnest in her advocacy of the anti-slavery cause. Amid the raging of mobs and the cold scorn of worldlings, she was always cheerful and strong, full of faith that right *must* prevail, and that it was a blessed privilege to work and suffer for that result. Always and everywhere she was "fervent in spirit, and spoke and taught diligently the things of the Lord." That soft white hair, and those large blue eyes, that looked out upon the world so honestly and lovingly, are before me now. It is a lovely vision; like an angel's face, surrounded by fleecy clouds.

Her dearly beloved sister, SUSAN CABOT, through all the long years, was her faithful helper in all good words and works. To her skillful fingers we owed many of the most beautiful and tasteful articles sold at our fairs, and her natural vein of facetiousness enlivened us all, even in the darkest and most wearisome hours. By an argument clothed in a pun, she overcame my extreme reluctance to have my likeness engraved among a circle of anti-slavery women. She summed up the matter in her witty way, by saying, "When a righteous cause is unpopular, it is a duty to give your countenance to it." Truly, these excellent and highly endowed sisters were "lovely in their lives," and it may also be said that "in their deaths they were not divided." She dreaded the first anniversary of Mrs. Follen's departure, and said she wished she could sleep through it. Before the day arrived, death, the beneficent "brother of sleep," laid his hand gently upon her eyelids, and she awoke no more to a sense of earthly sorrows.

I forget when we missed Mrs. REMOND from the band of the faithful; but well do I remember her intelligent remarks, her lady-like deportment, and that handsome brown face with its lustrous dark eyes.

Lately, news reaches us that we have lost NATHAN WINSLOW, the unwavering friend of our principles, and a munificent patron in our early days, when liberal donations were scarce.

More recently still, a dear young spirit has crossed the dark river. LUCIA WESTON, whose image presents itself to my memory, in its youthful beauty, fresh as a rose in June. She was one of a pleasant band of talented and devoted sisters, who simultaneously laid upon the altar of universal freedom their rare endowments, moral and mental. To a cold taken in working for our fairs she probably owed the disease which terminated her mortal life. Very pleasant and dear was she to us all; ever to be remembered and blessed as a fragrant flower blooming on the rugged and toilsome pathway of reform.

And now there is hidden from our sight the countenance of FRANCIS JACKSON, on which sturdy honesty and practical good sense were so plainly written, that no passer by could mistake the inscription. When Boston "gentlemen of property and standing," in deference of King Cotton, mobbed a meeting of anti-slavery women, in 1835, the manly soul of Mr. Jackson was roused to outspoken indignation. In a memorable letter, he invited the persecuted friends of an unpopular cause to hold their meetings in his house, if the enlightened city of Boston could furnish them with no more convenient place of gathering. Some people reminded him that the same spirit which hurled brickbats at women was capable of demolishing his dwelling. He replied, "I shall place no value on my house, if free speech cannot be uttered there." From that period to the hour of his death, he was the indefatigable and generous friend of the anti-slavery reform, and of others kindred with it. It would not be easy to number the fugitive slaves he helped with his money and his counsel; and every friend of the slave found a welcome in his hospitable mansion. He was more thoroughly a democrat than any man I ever knew. Of course, I do not call him so in the *party* sense of that term. The words Christian and Democrat have both been applied to such base purposes, that they have become "damaged phraseology," so Theodore Parker was wont to say. But democrat, in the good sense of the term, he was, most thoroughly. He was instinctively a friend and brother of the people, without reference to nation or complexion. By an ungenteel occupation, he had industriously worked his way upward in the social scale. He became wealthy, and influential men trusted him greatly, on account of his sterling good sense and strict integrity. His brother William became a member of Congress, and bore himself bravely and honestly in the midst of that truckling, compromising body. Prosperity and honors never excited in Francis Jackson a thought of concealing that he and his family had been workingmen. He never obtruded it ostentatiously, as some people do, in proof of their own wonderful capabilities. He alluded to it, if the conversation naturally suggested it, or he forgot it, just as it happened. To him it was simply a fact of no importance. The manner in which he habitually ignored mere artificial distinction would have seemed very absurd and undignified to self-conscious worldlings. I once met at his house an English traveller of considerable pretension, who was very desirous to have it known that he was acquainted with Lord Brougham. His conversations with that distinguished personage were aired upon every occasion for the benefit of listeners, and there was always a superabundant sprinkling of his title. "I said to his lordship, my lord, when I last had the honor of meeting your lordship, your lordship was pleased to remark," etc. It chanced that this lord-worshipper had been riding in the dust, and upon entering the house, he asked for water to wash. The domestic went up stairs to see that water and fresh towels were in readiness. Whether Mr. Jackson was aware of her mission, I never knew. Probably he was not. There was in the kitchen a sink used solely for personal bathing, and a clean, coarse roller was suspended above it. When the domestic returned to escort the gentleman to his room, she found him wiping his hands on the kitchen roller. What the English traveller might say to "my lord" about American customs, when he next "had the honor of conversing with his lordship," never occurred to Mr. Jackson's mind, neither did he care to have him know that there was plenty of fine damask towels in his house. He forgot all about it, just as he might have forgotten if his guest had been a dusty fugitive slave. Ah! the honest, great soul! so strong in simplicity and truth! How I love and reverence his memory!

I saw him several times, during the months preceding his departure from this world. I always found him calm and collected, willing, nay desirous to go. When I expressed a hope that he would recover, he replied, "You ought not to wish it. Why should I outlive my usefulness? My work here is done. Ellis Gray Loring, my brother William, Charles Hovey, Theodore Parker, and a host of other faithful friends are waiting for me on the other side. I don't want to keep them waiting." When I said that the effects of his labors would remain long after he had left the world, he replied, "I hope so. As I sit here in my chamber, unable to move about, I have abundant time for reflection. The years of my life pass in review before me. I find much that I could mend with the light I now have, and some things I am ashamed of. Why, in my youth, I spent a deal of time and money in militia trainings! What foolish business *that* was! What I fall back upon as my greatest consolation, in these hours of retrospection, is what I have done for th[illegible] am most thankful for in my [illegible] [illegible]dships I have formed with [illegible] [illegible]ve increased my respect for [illegible] [illegible]course with them has made my soul [illegible]." When I saw him a few days before his death, he raised his pale, emaciated face, and looked at me earnestly, as he asked, "*Do* you believe this dreadful war will end in the emancipation of the slaves?" When I told him that I did think so, he answered, "I hope so; for I love my country, and no otherwise can it be saved." Freighted with that sublime hope, the soul of the just man went to his home above.

During the interval I have mentioned, we have lost many efficient helpers, who never belonged to our Society, but were always ready to give us sympathy and aid. To allude to them all would fill columns. Among those to whom I was personally attached, I most frequently remember Miss MARY OSGOOD, of Medford. She was well known as a lady of great learning, singularly racy conversation, and marked individuality of character. It was exciting to come in contact with her immediately after some fresh compromise of principle by politicians. On such occasions, she obeyed the injunction of the most vigorous of our poets:

> "Keep back no syllable of fire!
> Plunge deep the rowels of thy speech!"

Her great contempt of insincerity, and shams of all sorts, produced a degree of bluntness, which to strangers seemed like roughness; but within the apparently hard shell there was a very soft kernel. She sympathized with suffering as earnestly as she battled with wrong. Religion, education, reform, all agencies that help on the progress of the human race received from her most liberal and efficient aid; and when she died, all the poor in the town mourned for her, as for a sister.

Among these memories, I cannot pass by Mrs. ABBY B. FRANCIS, wife of Dr. FRANCIS, of Cambridge, whose name and influence were freely used in our cause. Physical debility and suffering crippled her energies for years, but she was always ready to use all the strength she had for the relief of the poor and the oppressed. She died when the lurid signs of civil war first began to appear on the political horizon. Her last intelligible words to the devoted daughter, who was watching over her, were, "Oh, Abby, what *will* become of the poor slaves?"

Can a cause that lies so deep in thinking minds and feeling hearts fail of its accomplishment? Assuredly not. To doubt its triumph would be to doubt that a just God rules over human affairs. The New York *Herald* exults over the fact, that the Garrisonian Abolitionists are growing old and dying off. It apparently comforts itself with the idea that the pestilent heresy of our Declaration of Independence will pass away with them. Such a hope is unphilosophical and delusive. Those who work for conscience sake never work in vain. Scattered seeds of truth are never wasted. After the twelve apostles were persecuted unto death, the doctrines they preached became the religion of nations; and from the ashes of Huss and Wickliffe rose an army of Puritans, to whom England is mainly indebted for her civil and religious freedom.

L. MARIA CHILD.

☞ To this list of departed worthies, who have been taken from active labor in the cause of the oppressed within the period designated by Mrs. Child, and in this part of the country, may be added the names of SARAH H. EARLE and EFFINGHAM L. CAPRON of Worcester, and SAMUEL PHILBRICK.—*Liberator.*

THE BURIAL OF MRS. BROWNING.—A letter from Florence gives this account of the lamented poetess, Mrs. Elizabeth Barrett Browning:

"Shortly before sunset arrived the convoy, with the last remains of her whose resting place will assuredly consecrate this spot into one for the pilgrimage and reverence of future ages; a large garland of white flowers and a laurel wreath lay on the plain, unpretending hearse, now driven up to the entrance on the high road; here the coffin was removed to be placed within the gate-way lodge, where the English clergyman commenced the service from the Anglican Liturgy, and at this moment a numerous group stood, many deeply affected, not a few with tears, around the bier of that gloriously gifted woman. Among them I noticed Francisco dall' Oregaro, one of Italy's first living poets; Mr. Storey, the well-known American sculptor and writer; Mr. Anthony Trollope, and supported by the last two, the widowed husband, whose presence at such a time surprised me, for he was evidently prostrated by grief to the last degree. Scarce able, it seemed, to stand, and bewildered as one lost in an overwhelming dream, poor Mr. Browning looked, indeed, as if a blight had passed over his existence from which there could be no earthly healing. Followed by these mourners, the coffin was then carried up the central avenue to the freshly-dug grave, prepared for only one tenant near that cross and its pillar; and during the remainder of the rite here performed over the open burial-place, I could observe the sorrowful self-possession of that group of chief-mourners, the widower just able to control himself from an outburst of feeling, and his and her child, a fine boy of sweetly intelligent countenance, showing amid his emotion a self-command beyond his years. He reminded me of his mother, in feature and expression as he stood bare-headed, with long wavy hair, that child of illustrious parentage; and there stood an accomplished lady, Miss Bragdon, the bosom friend of the deceased, whose sorrow seemed scarce less than that of her nearest and dearest. I looked into the still open grave after the sublime service had closed, and the chief mourners had slowly passed away, and there saw the coffin of the great poetess, the white rose wreath at the feet, the laurel crown at the head, the newly scattered dust on the sable cover, and the name and date of death; while the line recording her age was hidden, being alone legible on the inscription partially concealed by that crown appropriately laid with the remains, just about to be forever covered by earth—wreath, and garland, and dead.

THINGS HOPED FOR.

HER silver lamp half-filled with oil,
Night came, to still the day's turmoil,
And bring a respite from its toil.

Gliding about with noiseless tread,
Her white sheets on the ground she spread,
That wearied men might go to bed.

No watch was there for me to keep,
Yet could I neither rest nor sleep,
A recent loss had struck so deep.

I felt as if Omnipotence
Had given us no full recompense
For all the ills of time and sense.

So I went, wandering silently,
Where a great river sought the sea,
And fashioning the life to be.

It was not drawn from book or creed,
And yet, in very truth and deed,
It answered to my greatest need.

And satisfied myself, I thought,
A heaven so good and perfect ought
To give to all what all have sought.

Near where I slowly chanced to stray,
A youth, and old man, worn and gray,
Down through the silence took their way;

And the night brought within my reach,
As each made answer unto each,
Some portion of their earnest speech.

The patriarch said: "Of all we know,
Or all that we can dream below,
Of that far land to which we go,

"This one assurance hath expressed,
To me, its blessedness the best—
'He giveth his beloved rest.'"

And the youth answered: "If it be
A place of inactivity,
It cannot be a heaven to me.'

"Surely its joy must be to lack
These hindrances that keep us back
From rising on a shining track,

"Where each shall find his own true height,
Though in our place, and in our light,
We differ as the stars of night."

I listened, till they ceased to speak;
And my heart answered, faint and weak,
Their heaven is not the heaven I seek!

Yet their discourse awoke again
Some hidden memories that had lain
Long undisturbed within my brain.

For oft, when bowed earth's care beneath,
I had asked others of their faith
In the life following after death;

And what that better world could be,
Where, from mortality set free,
We put on immortality.

And each in his reply had shown
That he had shaped and made his own
By the best things which he had known;

Or fashioned it to heal the woe
Of some great sorrow, which below
It was his hapless lot to know.

A mother once had said to me,
Over her dead: "My heaven will be
An undivided family."

One sick with mortal doubts and fears,
With looking blandly through her tears—
The way that she had looked for years—

Told me: "That world could have no pain,
Since there we should not wait in vain
For feet that will not come again."

A lover dreamed that heaven would be
Life's hour of perfect ecstacy,
Drawn out into eternity!

Men bending to their hopeless doom,
Toiling as in a living tomb,
Down shafts of everlasting gloom,

Out of the dark had answered me:
"Where there is light for us to see
Each other's faces, heaven must be."

An aged man, who bowed his head
With reverence o'er the page, and read
The words that ancient prophets said—

Talked of a glory never dim,
Of the veiled face of cherubim,
And harp, and everlasting hymn;

Saw golden streets and glittering towers—
Saw peaceful valleys white with flowers,
Kept never-ending Sabbath hours.

One, whom the cruel sea had crossed,
And seen, through billows madly tossed,
Great shipwrecks, where brave souls were lost,

Thus of the final voyage spake:
"Coming to heaven must be to make
Safe port, and no more journeys take."

And now their words of various kind
Came back to my bewildered mind,
And my faith staggered, faint and blind,

One moment; then this truth seemed plain,
These have not trusted God in vain:
To ask of Him must be to gain!

Every imaginable good,
We, erring, sinful, mortal, would
Give our belovéd, if we could;

And shall not He, whose care enfolds
Our life, and all our way controls,
Yet satisfy our longing souls?

Since mortal step hath never been,
And mortal eye hath never seen,
Past death's impenetrable screen,

Who shall dare limit Him above,
Or tell the ways in which He'll prove
Unto His children all His love?

Then joy through all my being spread,
And, comforted myself, I said:
"Oh, weary soul, be comforted!

"Souls, in your quest of bliss grown weak—
Souls, whose great woe no words can speak—
Not always shall ye vainly seek!

"Men whose whole lives have been a night,
Shall come from darkness to the light;
Wanderers shall hail the land in sight.

"Old saints, and martyrs of the Lamb,
Shall rise to sing their triumph psalm,
And wear the crown, and hear the palm.

"And the pale mourner, with bowed head,
Who, for the living lost, or dead,
Here weeps, shall there be gently led

"To feel, in that celestial place,
The tears wiped softly from her face,
And know love's comforting embrace.

"So shall we all, who groan in this,
Find, in that new life's perfectness,
Our own peculiar heaven of bliss—

"More glorious than our faith believed,
Brighter than dreams our hope has weaved,
Better than all our hearts conceived.

"Therefore will I wait patiently,
Trusting, where all God's mansions be,
There hath been one reserved for me,

"And go down calmly to death's tide,
Knowing, when on the other side
I wake, I shall be satisfied."

—*Chambers's Journal.* PHŒBE CARY.

THE WILL OF FRANCIS JACKSON.

From The Boston Traveller, Nov. 27.

THE will of the late Francis Jackson of this city has been presented for probate. It is a lengthy document, and was signed on the 28th of January last. His brother, Edmund Jackson, is made executor of the will.

He gives $100 each to Stephen S. Foster, Charles C. Burleigh, Parker Pillsbury, Lucy Stone, Lydia Maria Child, Oliver Johnson, Charles Lenox Remond, Charles K. Whipple and Robert F. Wallcut, as a token of esteem for their fidelity to moral principle, and their devotion to the cause of human freedom.

For a like reason he gives to Wm. Lloyd Garrison the sum of $5,000, to be used in support of himself and wife and the education of Francis J. Garrison at Harvard College, after he shall have left the public schools of Boston.

He appoints Wm. Lloyd Garrison, Wendell Phillips, Edmund Quincy, Maria W. Chapman, Edmund Jackson, Wm. I. Bowditch, Samuel May, Jr., and Charles K. Whipple, a Board of Trustees to receive funds designated in the will to be used to create a public sentiment in favor of putting an end to negro slavery.

He constitutes Mr. Phillips as President, Mr. E. Jackson as Treasurer, and Mr. Whipple as Secretary of this Board.

He also gives to this Board $2,000 to be used in aid of fugitive slaves, and in this connection speaks as follows:

"Disregarding the self-evident declaration of 1776, repeated in her own Constitution of 1780, that 'all men are born free and equal,' Massachusetts has since, in the face of those solemn declarations, deliberately entered into a conspiracy with other States to aid in enslaving millions of innocent persons. I have long labored to help my native State out of her deep iniquity and her barefaced hypocrisy in this matter. I now enter my last protest against her inconsistency, her injustice and her cruelty towards an unoffending people. God save the fugitive slaves that escape to her borders, whatever may become of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts."

He appoints Wendell Phillips, Lucy Stone and Susan B. Anthony a Board of Trustees, and gives them five thousand dollars to be used to secure the passage of laws granting women the right to vote, hold office etc.

He says that he has given each of his three children eight thousand dollars heretofore. The balance of his estate is to be divided into three equal parts.

The income of one part is to be given to a daughter and her children, and at their decease the principal is to go to the trustees having charge of the Woman's Rights Fund.

The income of the other two-thirds to his other children, and their children, and at their decease the principal is to be given to the trustees who have in charge the matter of creating a public sentiment in favor of the abolition of negro slavery.

THE SALE OF WIVES.

IT is well known that the Englishman of French novels, plays and essays, is a different creation from the real being who talks upon 'Change, and rides after the hounds, on this side of the Channel. The former compels the first maiden he meets in a casual way to marry him, after half-an-hour's acquaintance; he puts a halter round her neck, and sells her in the cattle-market, as soon as he is tired of her; and in November, getting full of yellow fog, and tired also of himself, he throws himself into the Thames. A French essayist of the last century accused the English of making an institution of suicide. "They kill themselves on the slightest occasion," says he, "and often merely to annoy one another." This last accusation—thanks to Jean Jacques Rousseau and "sensibility"—soon began to fit the countrymen of M. de Dourx far better than ourselves. The first of these alleged Anglican customs is ridiculously untrue. To the second custom, however—wife-selling—we are bound to plead a certain, though a very small, measure of guilt. *Some* Englishmen actually have sold their wives; and my purpose here is to record a few of the sales of this article that have taken place in our country during the last hundred years.

The first I can find after the accession of George III., occurred in the month of March, 1766. A carpenter of Southwark, Higginson by name, went into an ale-house for his morning draught; there he met a fellow-carpenter, and their talk turned upon wives. The carpenter, whose name history has not preserved, lamented that he had no wife; Higginson, on the other hand, lamented that he *had* one, and wished there were some way besides murder to get rid of her. The carpenter assured Higginson that there was a way—that old English custom had made it quite lawful for a husband to sell his own rib. "No one would be such a fool as to buy mine," sighed Mr. Higginson. "I would do so," answered the other, "and think I had made a good bargain, too." "Done!" shouted the delighted husband, and clenched the matter on the spot. Mrs. Higginson was fetched by her new lord, and lived with him as a wife. A few days after, however, Mr. Higginson, weary of a mateless home, or suspecting that he had not done right, went to the other carpenter, and demanded back his wife. Mrs. Higginson strenuously refused to go back. "A sale was a sale," said she, "and not a joke." Higginson went again and again, but to no purpose. After a week or two, he ceased to call. Mrs. Higginson was just concluding that her lord had peaceably ceded her at last, when she was cited to identify his dead body. He had hung himself. What price the poor fellow received for the lady, I am not informed.

The next sale I shall recount was made in the summer of the following year, 1767. This also proved a bad, though not quite so melancholy a bargain to the salesman. The lady was, what is often found in that class, a wife in courtesy, but not in fact. She had resided for several years with a bricklayer's laborer at Marylebone. Her "protector" sold her; and here we have the sum: he valued her at no less than five shillings and threepence and a gallon of beer. Three weeks after the sale, the lady being duly housed with her new lord, a wealthy uncle in Devonshire died, and, quite unexpectedly, he acknowledged kinship, and left her the sum of two hundred pounds, and a quantity of plate. The protector at once signified his distaste for "protection," and became her husband.*

In August, 1773, three men and three women went into the Bell Inn, Edgbaston Street, Birmingham. They called for the toll-book, which was kept there, and made the following strange entry: "August 31, 1773.—Samuel Whitehouse, of the parish of Willenhill, in the County of Stafford, this day sold his wife, Mary Whitehouse, in open market, to Thomas Griffiths, of Birmingham. Value [I really blush to write it], one shilling! To take her with all her faults.

(Signed) SAMUEL WHITEHOUSE.
MARY WHITEHOUSE.

(Voucher) THOMAS BUCKLEY, of Birmingham."

The fourth sale I have been able to find was an expensive business to the purchaser, unless, like our American brethren, he calculated upon getting something out of the "incumbrance." On the 8th of July, 1805, a fellow at Tuxford took his wife into the market-place, with a halter round her neck, and her child in her arms, and sold her *and her child* for five shillings. "It is to be regetted," says the paper from which I cull this, "that nobody present had the courage to take the rope from the wife's neck, and lay it on the husband's back." The probability is, however, that the persons who witnessed this vile transaction were either struck dumb with the marvel, and could only think it a joke, or else knew the man to be such a brute, that they fancied the most unrighteous change was better for the woman and the child than their continuance as they were. The quiet consent of the wife was a witness not only of her discomfort with her husband, but also of the degraded view of wifehood held by this class of salesmen and sold persons.

In February, 1807, a fifth sale is recorded. In this case, the parties contracting must have had some wealth, however great the vulgarity and moral debasement. A Mr. John Tupton, of Linton, offered to purchase the wife of Mr. Richard Waddilove, innkeeper of Grassington. He was content, he said, to go as high as *a hundred guineas.* Waddilove consented, and received one guinea on the spot as earnest money. The next day the eager buyer hurried off to Linton, taking with him the ninety-nine guineas, and demanded the fulfilment of the bargain. Mr. Waddilove was quite ready; he would have packed the goods and got her off, but it seems that Mrs. Waddilove had some womanly dignity and sense of right. Even if she *might* she did not *choose*, she said, to be parted with as a mere disposable chattel; and she sent off her purchaser with scorn and threats. The crafty Waddilove kept the earnest-guinea. Doubtless it was dearly earned; for it must have cost him endless curtain-lectures.

If Mrs. Waddilove was valued at the highest rate, the next I have to record was certainly the cheapest of all sold wives. In September, 1822, a silly boy named Thomas Jones, working for a house-painter at Caerleon, and not knowing his own mind, rashly married a silly girl. In three weeks, they were weary of one another, and the girl agreed to let her husband sell her. Accordingly, with a proviso that if the buyer after three weeks repented of his bargain the salesman should take her back, and return half the purchase-money, Thomas Jones sold his young wife *for threepence.*

The seventh sale I shall chronicle is the first in which I have found any interference of the law. It took place early in the December of 1822. A notice was given out to the inhabitants of Plymouth, that at half-past twelve on a certain morning, a man named Brooks intended to dispose of his wife by public sale. The lady, it was declared, was not only young and handsome, but would ride to the place of sale, of her own free will, on her own horse; and further, in a few days she would succeed to the covetable sum of six hundred pounds. There was a huge concourse of people to witness this marvel. Precisely at the advertised hour, the husband rode up; and soon after, the wife, accompanied by the ostler of the *Lord Exmouth* Inn, also appeared.

The husband, as auctioneer, put up the wife for sale, and requested the bidders to commence. "Five shillings," was the first offer, then "ten," then "fifteen." The price continued rising until it came to "three pounds," which last bid was made by the ostler of the *Lord Exmouth.* But here the business was suddenly arrested. Two constables came up, and seizing the goods and the salesman, to the apparent disappointment of both, carried them to the Guildhall, to be questioned by the mayor.

That worshipful gentleman asked Mr. Brooks how he dared commit such an illegal act. The auctioneer answered, in an innocent way, that he thought it was all right. He and his wife both agreed that it was the best thing to be done. They had not lived together for a long time; she had had children by other men; she was no wife to him; and since he understood there was a man willing to give him twenty pounds for her—three pounds down, and the other seventeen at Christmas—and as his wife was anxious to belong to this man, they both agreed the sale should be made. "There was nothing below-board in it," he said; "he had advertised it publicly in Modbury three successive market-days." The wife, too, asserted that she had been given to understand that she could be honestly separated by being sold on a market-day in the market-place.

The mayor asked the name of the person who had undertaken to buy her. "Mr. K——," answered she. "I am very vexed that he has not kept his promise." And she went on to say that she was so determined to be loosed from Brooks, that she had (on finding Mr. K—— absent) employed the ostler of the *Lord Exmouth* Inn, where she put up her horse, to buy her with her own money, "unless," she said, "I go for more than twenty pounds."

Mr. and Mrs. Brooks were bound over to answer the charge at the next sessions. Neither of them being able to find sureties, their own recognizances were taken.

The next instance I have to chronicle, although it took place ten years later, and so near our time as 1832, seems to have escaped magisterial notice. Joseph Thompson, a small farmer, renting between forty and fifty acres, lived at a village three miles from the city of Carlisle. He had been married about three years. He had no children. He and his wife could not agree. There was a continual soreness between the Montagues and Capulets, his family and hers. These three things made them resolve to part. So, on the 7th of April, early in the morning, Mr. Thompson sent round the bellman to give notice that a man would sell his wife at twelve o'clock in the market. The odd announcement of course drew together a considerable mob. The lady placed herself upon a high oaken chair, with a halter of straw about her neck, and a large circle of friends and relatives around her. The husband-auctioneer stood beside her, and spoke, says my authority, nearly as follows:

"Gentlemen, I have to offer to your notice my wife, Mary Ann Thompson, otherwise Williamson, whom I mean to sell to the highest and fairest bidder. Gentlemen, it is her wish as well as mine to part forever. She has been to me only a bosom-serpent. I took her for my comfort and the good of my house; but she became my tormentor, a domestic curse, a night invasion, and a daily devil. Gentlemen, I speak truth from my heart when I say may Heaven deliver us from troublesome wives. Avoid them as you would a mad dog, a loaded pistol, cholera morbus, Mount Ætna, or any other pestilential phenomena in nature. Now I have shown you the dark side of my wife, and her faults and failings, I will introduce the bright and sunny side of her, and explain her qualifications and goodness. She can read novels and milk cows; she can laugh and weep with the same ease that you could take a glass of ale when thirsty. Indeed, getlemen, she reminds me of what the poet says of women in general:

> Heaven gave to women the peculiar grace,
> To laugh, to weep, and cheat the human race.

She can make butter and scold the maid; she can sing Moore's melodies, and plait her frills and caps. She cannot make rum, gin or whiskey; but she is a good judge of the quality from long experience in tasting them. I therefore offer her, with all her perfections and imperfections, for the sum of *fifty shillings.*"

The reporter, I fancy, must have dressed up this speech. Remembering that the goods and the auctioneer were a not very rich north-country farmer and farmer's wife, it is difficult to believe that she had the kind of accomplishments mentioned in the speech, or that he really uttered this speech. He affirms that she did, however, and adds that the lady was "a spruce, lively damsel, apparently not exceeding twenty-three years of age. She seemed," he says, "to feel a pleasure at the exchange she was about to make." The sale took between an hour and a half and two hours. At last, Mrs. Thompson was sold to Henry Mears, a pensioner, for one pound and a Newfoundland dog. The newly coupled pair left the city together, the mob huzzaing and cheering after them. Mr. Thompson coolly took the straw-halter from off his old wife, and put it on his new dog. He then betook himself to the nearest inn, and spent the remainder of the day there. No doubt, before the setting of the sun, the whole purchase-money of his wife had gone down his throat in drink. "He repeatedly exulted," says my authority, "in his happy release from bondage." It is fair to state that this account is not taken from a town newspaper, but from a country one, *The Whitehaven Herald and Cumberland Advertiser*, for May 1, 1832; this paper, too, merely inserts it, without remark, from *The Lancaster Herald.*

The London Chronicle for February 22, 1766, contains a notice of a double sale, or rather an exchange, of wives. Two "reputable" tradesmen, near Lincoln's Inn Fields, being in liquor, agreed, without consultation of their ladies, to effect such a transaction. But one of them having a wife whom both agreed to be more personable than the wife of the other, received a twenty-pound note, a gold watch, and a guinea. The next day, he called on the purchaser, and delivered his wife, she, poor lady, merely fancying she was going there to dinner. When the business was explained, however, both the women refused to abide by the silly bargain of their husbands. What the feelings were of that unfortunate one who had been valued by both the men at twenty-one pounds, one shilling, and a gold watch less than the other, I dare not think.

The strangest thing about these sales is, that the women sold seem to have rejoiced in the change more than they lamented the degradation. In one instance, in June, 1766, this was so plainly marked, that the wife of a Rosemary Lane plasterer, who had been sold to a sailor for thirty-six shillings and a gallon of ale, actually hired a fiddler to precede her, with a rude epithalamium to her new home.* The loving couple had only been wedded a fortnight.

In 1788, there was a correspondence in *The Gentleman's Magazine* on the question, Whether a man could let his wife on lease? There is no instance, I believe, of a man allowing his Xantippe to sell *him*; but in 1736, a woman sold the body of her dead husband.—*Chambers's Journal.*

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* *London Chronicle*, June 4, 1767, p. 534. *The London Chronicle* was paged for binding, and published a title-page and a full index.

* *Lloyd's Evening Post*, June 13, 1766.

WAITING.

WE watch, we wait! October's sun
Has draped the woods with yellow leaves;
They told us victory should be won
Ere Autumn bound her harvest sheaves.

Our struggling nation groans and strives!
Brave hearts, who never knew retreat,
Upon her altars lay their lives—
And still our record stands, Defeat.

We give our treasures—silver, gold—
And wealth is poured, a shining flood,
Nor brothers, lovers, sons withhold
From battle's red baptism of blood.

Yet trail disgraced our Stripes and Stars!
In vain our heroes strive and die;
Exultant wave the odious Bars,
And traitors shout the victor cry.

We give our gold! we keep our sin!
We turn the hunted bondman back!
We fast and pray that freedom win,
Only for white men—not for black!

God calleth such a fast "accursed!"
Help us, O God, our path to see!
Strike the bold stroke of duty first,
And trusting, leave results to Thee!

—*Independent.*

"SQUANTUM.—The name of a species of fun known to the Nantucket folks, which is thus described by the New York *Mirror*: A party of ladies and gentlemen go to one of the famous watering places of resort, where they fish, dig clams, talk, laugh, sing, dance, play, bathe, sail, eat, and have a general 'good time.' The food generally consists of chowder, baked clams, fun. No one is admitted to the sacred circle who will take offence at a joke, and every one is expected to do his and her part towards creating a general laugh. Any man who speaks of business affairs (except matrimony) is immediately reproved, and on a second offence publicly chastised. Care is thrown to the wind, politics discarded, war ignored, pride humbled, stations levelled, wealth scorned, virtue exalted, and —this is 'Squantum.'" *Noctes cænæque Deum!* "If there be an Elysium on earth," it lies in Nantucket, which Tom Moore did not know. The lost Atlantis, the fabled islands of the Blest, the vanished Golden Age, the "good time coming,"—are but shadows of this. To think that the ideal of happiness, which philosophers of all ages have so long vainly sought, should be found at last—and that its name should be Squantum!—*Blackwood.*

BYRON TAMPERING WITH HOLY WRIT.—An eminent publisher has in his possession a curious relic of Lord Byron. It is a handsomely bound Bible, which the noble poet presented to the gentleman's father, also a publisher, having first written on the fly-leaf his name, with the text, "Search the Scriptures, for they are they which testify of me." Mr. —— was a little surprised at receiving such a present from the author of "Don Juan"; but the mystery was cleared up when he found that in the sentence, "Now Barabbas was a robber," Lord Byron had carefully erased the last word, and substituted in its place the word "publisher." The joke was elaborate, but not the less characteristic on that account.

FEMALE.—There is perhaps no American newspaper idiom more offensive to English taste than the constant use of this word "female" to denote a woman. The late lamented Sir Morgan O'Dogherty laid it down as one of his maxims, that it was never used in this sense "by any man above the rank of a chimney sweep." Mr. Bartlett notes the constant recurrence of the term in the popular press with very just reprobation: it sounds unpleasantly, as he observes, "as if referring to an animal." It is satisfactory to learn that the House of Delegates in Maryland, in the year 1839, in the discussion of a "bill to protect the reputation of unmarried females" (though one is sorry to hear that such a bill was necessary), struck out the offensive word, and inserted "women."—*Blackwood.*

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